MARCH 21, 1983
$1.50
TIME
KISSINGER
A New Plan For Arms Control
DETROIT'S COMEBACK KID
Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca
12
0 10090
724404

BENSON & HEDGES

Deluxe Ultra Lights

Only 6 mg,
yet rich enough to be called deluxe.

Regular and Menthol.
Open a box today.

6 mg "tar," 0.6 mg nicotine av. per cigarette, by FTC method.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

© Philip Morris Inc. 1983

SUPPOSE THE IRS SAYS "BRING RECORDS."

NOW YOU'LL HAVE THE RECORDS TO BRING.

A printing calculator turns tax time into a completely different experience. When your calculations are printed, you can't lose your place or forget what you've done. And should you be asked to bring your records for an audit, you'll be cool, calm and collected. Because a printing calculator helps you keep all your calculations organized.

And Sharp, the leading manufacturer of calculators in the world, also offers the widest range of printing calculators. You can get a printing calculator that fits into your pocket or one that fits perfectly on your desk. And everything in between.

The EL-1197 pictured below gives you 10-digit printing with easy-to-read display, 4 independently accessible memory keys and improved key-shape designed for faster, more error-free use.

So before you get yourself into a messy tax situation this year, get yourself one of our printing calculators. You'll be so organized, you'll be auditing everyone else.

Watch for our TV commercial to learn more about the latest advance in calculator technology from Sharp. We replaced a half-million transistors and diodes with one tiny "chip."

SHARP

FROM SHARP MINDS COME SHARP PRODUCTS

Sharp Electronics Corporation, 10 Sharp Plaza, Paramus, N.J. 07652

METROPOLITAN. THE ONLY INSURANCE COMPANIES YOU MAY EVER NEED.

It's not uncommon for one family to have a variety of insurance policies from a variety of insurance companies.

But there is an alternative. You can satisfy your insurance needs through one source: Metropolitan Insurance Companies.

We protect over 47 million people not only with life insurance, but also with insurance plans for their health, auto, home and retirement.*

And we continue to offer new products and innovative ideas.

For example, our Whole Life *Plus* coverage gives you one of the best buys in permanent insurance protection. A Metropolitan homeowner policy may save you money by offering flexible deductibles, while a Metropolitan IRA helps provide for a more secure retirement with guaranteed principal.

And when we surveyed auto policyholders, 89 percent of the respondents expressed satisfaction with the speed and efficiency of our claims service.

But most importantly, when you deal with Metropolitan, you deal with a trained professional who can help you with your individual needs. If you'd like this kind of service, convenience and commitment from an insurance leader, just call your Metropolitan representative.

It's good to know that no matter what happens, Metropolitan will really stand by you.

Metropolitan Insurance Companies

METROPOLITAN REALLY STANDS BY YOU.

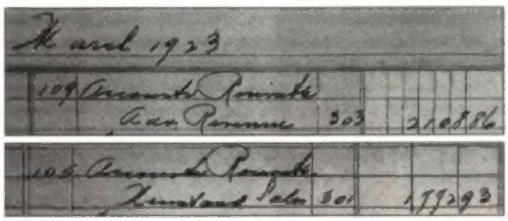
Life/Health/Auto/Home/Retirement

© 1983 Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., N.Y., N.Y., Metropolitan Property and Liability Insurance Co., Warwick, R.I., Metropolitan Casualty Insurance Co., Warwick, R.I., Metropolitan General Insurance Co., Warwick, R.I., Metropolitan Insurance and Annuity Co., N.Y., N.Y. *Auto & Homeowners not available in all states

MARCH 21, 1983 Vol. 121 No. 12 TIME THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A Letter from the Publisher

Sixty years ago this week, two young Yale graduates, Henry Luce and Briton Hadden, were about to close the third issue of their new magazine, TIME. It must have been difficult to concentrate on the job at hand because the first returns trickling in from Vol. 1 No. 1 were not all that promising. About 2,500 of the first 5,000 newsstand copies, priced at 15¢, had gone unsold. One of the other problems was that Roy Larsen, TIME's first circulation manager, who was to play a role second only to Luce's in the development of Time Inc., had hired some of Hadden's debutante friends to help out in circulation. In their enthusiasm the women had managed to mix up many of the mailing wrappers. Total circulation of the first issue, optimistically projected at 25,000, turned out to be less than 9,000.



First ad and newsstand receipts recorded in TIME ledger

Luce had estimated in advance that the new publication was a "10-to-1 shot." For those investors who had loaned the founding pair $85,675, the odds soon began to look longer than that. Advertising was spotty. The first issue carried only three full-page ads and 18 smaller ones, including a satiric appeal for the "elusive" TIME reader: "Arrest him," the ad implored, "and having gone that far, get his fingerprint. Or his signature on the [subscription] form below." Response, measured in circulation receipts, was slow: $11,486 in March; $17,556 in April; $10,122 in May. But in the second half of 1923, TIME's average circulation jumped to 18,500, and in October, subscriptions started coming in at a rate that encouraged Luce, Hadden and Larsen to increase the guarantee to 35,000. In 1924, TIME doubled its circulation to 70,000, and just as important, the new magazine began at last to attract advertisers.

Sixty years later, TIME continues to attract advertisers and readers. In 1982, worldwide ad revenues generated $350 million, making TIME No. 1 among all magazines. TIME's domestic circulation today stands at 4.5 million copies. When the international editions of TIME, bought by people in 190 countries, are added, TIME's circulation stands at 5.8 million copies a week. It commands a weekly worldwide audience of nearly 30 million men and women.

More people in more countries get their news from TIME each week than from any other single source. Today, TIME calls upon 96 correspondents in 33 news bureaus, an editorial staff of 450, and hundreds of stringers. It is the largest news-gathering staff reporting to a single magazine in the entire world. Luce's 10-to-1 shot came home.

John a. Meyer

Index

Cover: Photograph by Philip Castle

50
Cover: Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca conjures up new models, fires up employees and brightens up TV screens in a one-man show that is driving the automaker back toward profitability. *See* ECONOMY & BUSINESS.

12
Nation: Reagan talks tough, but his policies are not always in train. ▶ Showdown over El Salvador policy. ▶ Measuring Soviet power. ▶ Burford leaves the EPA. ▶ A TIME poll finds a better mood, though not about Reagan.

24
Kissinger: The former Secretary of State has a dramatic plan to halt the strategic arms race: scrap all MIRVs and rely on single-warhead missiles. If the Soviets said *nyet*, he would launch the plan unilaterally. *See* ESSAY.

30
World
West German Chancellor Kohl now faces the problems of governing. ▶ France's Socialist government has a setback at the polls. ▶ John Paul II leaves Central America. ▶ Nkomo flees Zimbabwe. ▶ The nonaligned nations try to get back to basics. ▶ OPEC members haggle, but the market rules.

62
Religion
A Catholic nun administering an abortion program in Michigan defies her Archbishop by refusing to quit her job.

76
Books
Anthony Burgess's *The End of the World News* is three novels in one. ▶ Shana Alexander's Jean Harris is *Very Much a Lady*.

63
Science
Taking a cue from Hollywood, a Harvard scientist starts listening for E.T. ▶ U.S. weather satellites go on sale.

84
Press
A man sets himself ablaze as a TV camera rolls, prompting a debate on whether some stories are worth reporting.

65
Music
Hi-fi lovers start to think small as digital record players and compact discs, only 4.7 in. in diameter, hit the U.S. market.

85
Behavior
A death pact in London and a rash of how-to manuals may be encouraging suicide by making it seem respectable.

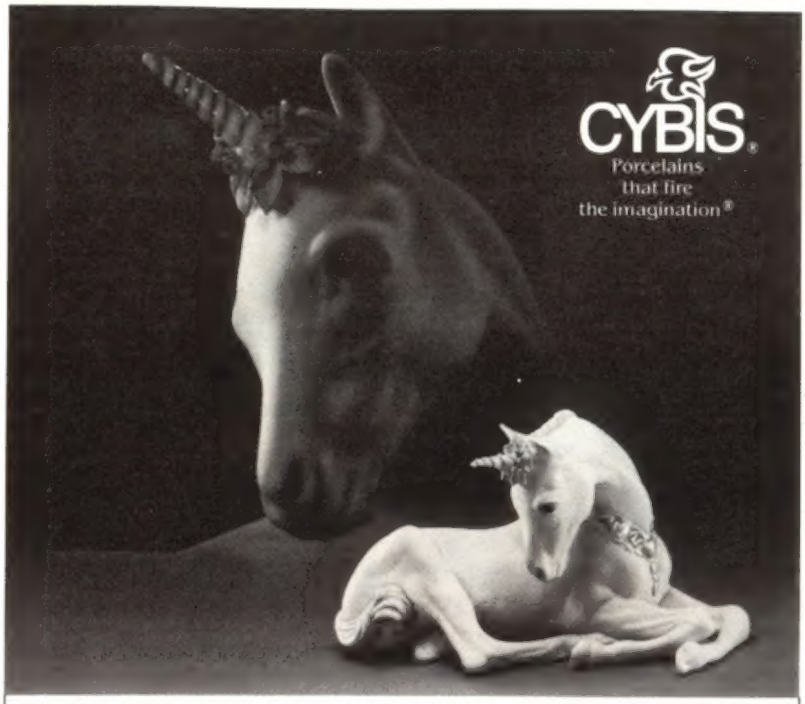
67
Sport
American Skier Phil Mahre celebrates his third World Cup title as Tamara McKinney nears a U.S. sweep.

86
Design
Calligraphers are urging that schoolchildren be taught a modern form of italic as a cure for messy handwriting.

72
Living
The South Bronx has begun exporting a lively new style in music, dance and dress. Call it hip hop or, better, rap.

6 Letters
66 People
68 Video
69 Milestones
83 Theater

TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly at the subscription price of $41 per year, by Time Inc., 3435 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90010. Principal office: Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020. J. Richard Munro, President; Thayer Bigelow, Treasurer; Charles B. Bear, Secretary. Second class postage paid at Los Angeles, CA, and at additional mailing offices. Vol. 121 No 12 © 1983 Time Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is prohibited. TIME and the Red Border Design are protected through trademark registration in the United States and in the foreign countries where TIME magazine circulates. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to TIME, Time & Life Building, 541 N. Fairbanks Court, Chicago, Ill. 60611.



This unbridled magic captured only by a maiden's gentle hand. Legendary unicorn—Sir Bailey—a porcelain fantasia by the artists of Cybis. 4" x 7½". $365. For further information about Cybis, America's oldest existing art porcelain studio, contact CYBIS, 65 Norman Ave., TU, Trenton, NJ 08618. (609) 392-6074

©CYBIS. 1983

Moving?

Here's how to guarantee uninterrupted home delivery of TIME:

Please give us 4 weeks' notice if you plan to change your address.

1. Send us the mailing label on the front of this magazine to let us know your old address.

2. Write your new address below. **3.** Mail this coupon to:

TIME Inc., 541 North Fairbanks Ct., Chicago, Illinois 60611

Mr./Ms. (please print)

Address Apt. No.

City State Zip

To enter a new subscription or renew your current subscription, order gift subscriptions or have your name removed from the TIME mailing list, please write to the address above.

T-42R

TIME

Founders: BRITON HADDEN 1898-1929 HENRY R. LUCE 1898-1967

Editor-in-Chief: Henry Anatole Grunwald
President: J. Richard Munro
Chairman of the Board: Ralph P. Davidson
Executive Vice President: Clifford J. Grum
Editorial Director: Ralph Graves
Group Vice President, Magazines: Kelso F. Sutton

MANAGING EDITOR: Ray Cave
EXECUTIVE EDITORS: Edward L. Jamieson, Jason McManus
ASSISTANT MANAGING EDITORS: Richard Duncan, John Elson, Ronald Kriss
INTERNATIONAL EDITOR: Karsten Prager
SENIOR EDITORS: James D. Atwater, Martha M. Duffy, William F. Ewald, José M. Ferrer III, Stefan Kanfer, Donald Morrison, Henry Muller, Thomas Plate, Christopher Porterfield, Stephen Smith, George M. Taber
ART DIRECTOR: Rudolph Hoglund
CHIEF OF RESEARCH: Leah Shanks Gordon
OPERATIONS DIRECTOR: Gérard C. Lelièvre
PICTURE EDITOR: Arnold H. Drapkin
SENIOR WRITERS: George J. Church, Gerald Clarke, Michael Demarest, Otto Friedrich, Frederic Golden, Paul Gray, Robert Hughes, T.E. Kalem, Ed Magnuson, Lance Morrow, Frederick Painton, Roger Rosenblatt, R.Z. Sheppard, William E. Smith, Frank Trippett
ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Patricia Blake, Richard Corliss, Spencer Davidson, John S. DeMott, Dorothy Haystead, William A. Henry III, Russ Hoyle, Walter Isaacson, Marguerite Johnson, James Kelly, John Leo, John Nielsen, Richard N. Ostling, J.D. Reed, George Russell, Marylois Purdy Vega
STAFF WRITERS: Charles P. Alexander, Kurt Andersen, Kenneth W. Banta, Bennett H. Beach, Tom Callahan, E. Graydon Carter, Janice Castro, Hunter R. Clark, Maureen Dowd, Guy D. Garcia, John Greenwald, John Kohan, Ellie McGrath, Sara C. Medina, Jay D. Palmer, Richard Stengel, Alexander L. Taylor III, Susan Tifft, Anastasia Toufexis, Claudia Wallis, Michael Walsh
CONTRIBUTORS: Judy Bachrach, A.T. Baker, Jay Cocks, Thomas Griffith, Gregory Jaynes, Melvin Maddocks, Jane O'Reilly, Kenneth M. Pierce, Richard Schickel, John Skow, Wolf Von Eckardt
REPORTER-RESEARCHERS: Ursula Nadasdy de Gallo, Sue Raffety, Betty Satterwhite Sutter (Department Heads); Audrey Bail, Peggy T. Berman, Nancy McD. Chase, Oscar Chiang, Eileen Chiu, Elaine Dutka, Georgia Harbison, Anne Hopkins, Nancy Newman, Susan M. Reed, Victoria Sales, Zona Sparks, Susanne Washburn, Genevieve A. Wilson-Smith, Rosemarie Tauris Zadikov (Senior Staff); Peter Ainslie, Bernard Baumohl, Richard Bruns, Robert I. Burger, Rosemary Byrnes, Mary Carpenter, Valenice Castronovo, Helen Sen Doyle, Rosamond Draper, Mary Earle, Philip Fallick, Kathryn Jackson Fallon, Cassie T. Furgurson, Nelida Gonzalez-Alfonso, Robert T. Grieves, Michael P. Harris, Geraldine Kirshenbaum, Stephen Koepp, Melissa Ludtke, JoAnn Lum, Naushad S. Mehta, Katherine Mihok, Jamie Murphy, Adrianne Jucius Navon, Jeanne-Marie North, Brigid O'Hara-Forster, John Podhoretz, Judith B. Prowda, Barry Rehfeld, Alfreda J. Robertson, Elizabeth Rudulph, Alain L. Sanders, Marion H. Sanders, William Tynan, Sidney Urquhart, Jane Van Tassel, Linda Young
CORRESPONDENTS: Richard Duncan (Chief); R. Edward Jackson, B. William Mader, Peter Stoler (Deputies) **Washington Contributing Editor:** Hugh Sidey **Diplomatic Correspondent:** Strobe Talbott
Senior Correspondents: Ruth Mehrtens Galvin, William Rademaekers, Sandy Smith, Frederick Ungeheuer
Washington: Robert Ajemian, Barrett Seaman, Laurence I. Barrett, David Beckwith, Gisela Bolte, Jay Branegan, Douglas Brew, Anne Constable, Hays Gorey, Jerry Hannifin, David S. Jackson, Neil MacNeil, Johanna McGeary, Ross H. Munro, Bruce W. Nelan, Christopher Redman, Jeanne Saddler, Evan Thomas, Gregory H. Wierzynski **Chicago:** Christopher Ogden, J. Madeleine Nash, Patricia Delaney, Lee Griggs, Don Winbush **Los Angeles:** Benjamin W. Cate, Steven Holmes, Joseph J. Kane, Alessandra Stanley, Denise Worrell **New York:** John F. Stacks, Jonathan Beaty, Dorothy Ferenbaugh, Marcia Gauger, Janice C. Simpson, Bruce van Voorst, Jack E. White, James Wilde, Adam Zagorin **Atlanta:** Joseph N. Boyce, B.J. Phillips, John E. Yang **Boston:** Barry Hillenbrand, Joelle Attinger, James Bell **Detroit:** Paul A. Witteman, Barbara B. Dolan **San Francisco:** William R. Doerner, Michael Moritz, Dick Thompson **Denver:** Richard Woodbury **Houston:** Sam Allis
Europe: Lawrence Malkin **London:** Bonnie Angelo, Mary Cronin, Arthur White **Paris:** Jordan Bonfante, William Blaylock, Thomas A. Sancton **Bonn:** Roland Flamini, Gary Lee, John Moody **Eastern Europe:** Richard Hornik **Rome:** Wilton Wynn, Barry Kalb **Jerusalem:** Harry Kelly, David Halevy **Middle East:** William Stewart **Cairo:** Robert C. Wurmstedt **Beirut:** Roberto Suro **Moscow:** Erik Amfitheatrof **Hong Kong:** Sandra Burton, Bing W. Wong **Bangkok:** David DeVoss **Peking:** David Aikman **Nairobi:** John Borrell **Johannesburg:** Marsh Clark **New Delhi:** Dean Brelis **Tokyo:** Edwin M. Reingold, S. Chang **Melbourne:** John Dunn **Canada:** John M. Scott, Ed Ogle **Rio de Janeiro:** Gavin Scott **Mexico City:** James Willwerth **Caribbean:** William McWhirter, Bernard Diederich
News Desk: Suzanne Davis, Tam Martinides Gray, Susan Lynd, David Richardson, Blanche Holley, Ann Drury Wellford, Jean R. White, Arturo Yáñez **Administration:** Emily Friedrich, Linda D. Vartoogian
ART: Nigel Holmes, Irene Ramp (Deputy Directors); Arturo Cazeneuve, Leonard S. Levine, Anthony J. Libardi, William Spencer (Assistant Directors); Lily Hou (Designer); Rosemary L. Frank, Charlotte J. Quiggle (Covers); Nickolas Kalamaras **Layout:** Burjor Nargolwala (Chief); John P. Dowd, John F. Geist (Deputies); Joseph Aslaender, Steve Conley, David Drapkin, Carroll Dunham, Modris Ramans, Kenneth Smith, John White, Barbara Wilhelm **Maps and Charts:** Paul J. Pugliese, Renée Klein, Joseph Arnon, E. Noel McCoy, Nino Telak, Deborah L. Wells
PHOTOGRAPHY: Michele Stephenson (Deputy); Demetra Kosters, Helen Eisenberg (Administration) **Researchers:** Evelyn Merrin, Richard L. Boeth, Anne Callahan, Martha L. Haymaker, Paula Hornak, Peter J. Kellner, Rose Keyser, Susan Lombardo, Eva Nutt, Julia Richer, Carol Saner, Nancy Smith-Alam, Robert B. Stevens, Anne Stovell, Mary Thermo **Photographers:** Eddie Adams, Walter Bennett, Sahm Doherty, Rudi Frey, Arthur Grace, Dirck Halstead, Peter Jordan, David Hume Kennerly, Neil Leifer, Ben Martin, Mark Meyer, Ralph Morse, Carl Mydans, Stephen Northup, Bill Pierce, David Rubinger, Ted Thai, Diana Walker, John Zimmerman
MAKEUP: Charles P. Jackson (Chief); Eugene F. Coyle (International); Leonard Schulman, John M. Cavanagh (Deputies); Peter J. McGuiness
OPERATIONS: Sue Aitkin (Deputy Director); Susan L. Blair (Copy Chief); Stephen F. Demeter (Systems Manager); Eleanor Edgar, Judith Anne Paul, Joseph J. Scafidi, Lee R. Sparks (Deputies); Trang Ba Chuong, Gary Deaton, Suzi Romanik, L. Rufino-Armstrong, Shirley Zimmerman (Supervisors); Dolores Alexander, Frances Bander, Minda Bikman, Robert Braine, Madeline Butler, Joan Cleary, Kenneth Collura, Manuel Delgado, Leo Deuel, Lucia Hamet, Evelyn Hannon, Garry Hearne, Theresa Kelliher, Claire Knopf, Agustin Lamboy, Jeannine Laverty, Linda Lehrhaupt, Marcia L. Love, Emily Mitchell, James D. Mountjoy, Alma Routsong, Megan Rutherford, Marcia Schlafmitz, Walter J. Tate, Alan Washburn, Amelia Weiss
LETTERS: Joan D. Walsh (Chief); Isabel F. Kouri (Deputy)
EDITORIAL SERVICES: Christiana Walford (Director); Herbert G. Orth, Benjamin Lightman, Alex Stack, Elizabeth G. Young

PUBLISHER: John A. Meyers
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER: Richard W. Angle Jr.
Promotion Director: Robert D. Sweeney
Circulation Director: Eric G. Thorkilsen
Business Manager: Arthur G. Sachs
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER-ADVERTISING SALES DIRECTOR: Richard B. Thomas
U.S. Advertising Sales Director: George W. McClellan
Associate U.S. Adv. Sales Director: Charles D. Hogan

Finally, a granola bar this moist, this chewy and 100% natural, too!

It's a chewy breakthrough! Chewy Granola Bars made the Nature Valley® way—100% natural! No additives. No preservatives. Just delicious, wholesome ingredients in four family-pleasing choices. Chewy Chocolate Chip with real chocolate chips. Chewy Raisin with big, plump raisins. Chewy Apple made with bits of real apple. And chewy Peanut Butter with real peanut butter you can see. See for yourself. Nature Valley is a Chewy Granola Bar that's moist, chewy and 100% natural.

100% natural...not all chewy granola bars are. Check the label!

SOUTH AFRICA

A world in one country.
Expect the unexpected. Abundant varieties of fauna, flora and peoples. A rich land, unspoiled and beautiful.
For an unforgettable vacation experience, consult your travel agent or ask for your free color brochure, 'South Africa – Gateway to a Continent.'

South African Tourist Corporation,
610 Fifth Avenue,
New York,
N.Y. 10020.
Tel. (212) 245-3720.
Telex 649535.
Name_____
Address_____

Where summer is four seasons long.

satour

TBT 32183

9585 T

Letters

Royal Hunt

To the Editors:

When I was little, I dreamed of marrying a prince. After reading about how the press pursues the Princess of Wales [Feb. 28], I realize how nice it is that my prince is a pharmacist.

Dalene VandenHoek
Grand Rapids

No wonder Diana refused to pose for pictures on her recent skiing holiday with Prince Charles. She is constantly hounded by reporters who will print anything and who call her a "spoilt brat" and a "monster." These terms more accurately describe those who refuse to give the Princess a moment's peace.

Kelly Fitzgerald
McAllen, Texas

Journalists have traditionally been sycophantic toward blueblood, giving royals far too much uncritical press. Diana *is* charming! But seeing that charm incessantly on American magazine covers now cloys.

Charles W. Page
Louisville

From the day they are born to the day they die, members of the British royal family live off the working citizens of their country. The Queen and her family should not object to the interest they generate. The people have a right to see what they are paying for.

Richard Arnold
Burnaby, B.C.

Diana, royalty or not, needs privacy once in a while.

Maureen Gallivan
Camillus, N.Y.

The press should have more consideration for life within the palace and stop trying so hard to prove that the fairy-tale marriage is not perfect.

Stephanie Kram
Baltimore

Before he married her, Charles asked Diana to consider whether "it would be too awful." The Princess was not born in the spotlight; she chose it.

Emily Glickman
New York City

Your article on Queen Elizabeth's visit to the New World erroneously refers to her in its subheading as H.R.H. (Her Royal Highness). The correct abbreviation of the Queen's official title is H.M. (Her Majesty).

Austin C. Bray Jr.
Austin

Early Start

Campaign '84 has begun because the press gives the politicians the exposure they want [Feb. 28]. One reason American voters are apathetic is that we are sick of hearing about the election for two years out of every four.

Murray Abrahamson
San Francisco

You call the early declaration of Democratic presidential candidates "Opening the Silly Season." I want to know as much as possible about these people whether they are Democrats or Republicans. That is the only way to make an intelligent choice. For some of us this is a serious and enlightening season.

Lowell McDonald
Olympia, Wash.

Doctor Bills

The article on spiraling Medicare costs [Feb. 28] was indicative of our inability to diagnose the underlying problem. No government-financed medical-care plan in the world save our own is based on service provided by private practitioners who are paid by the Government. The only affordable and practical method is for the Government to educate doctors who will then give a certain number of years to providing free care at nationally owned facilities.

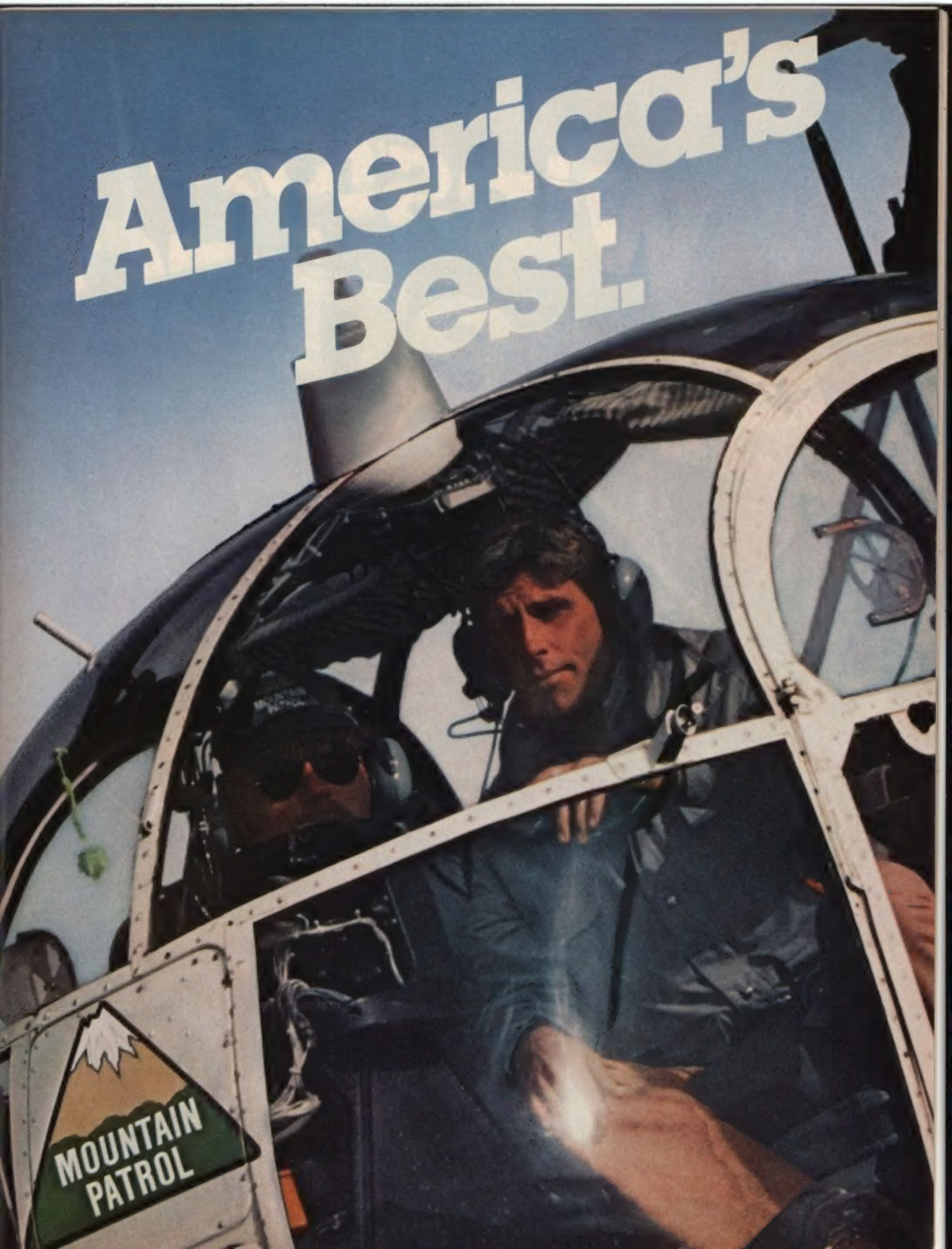
H. Jackson Dorney
Miramar, Fla.

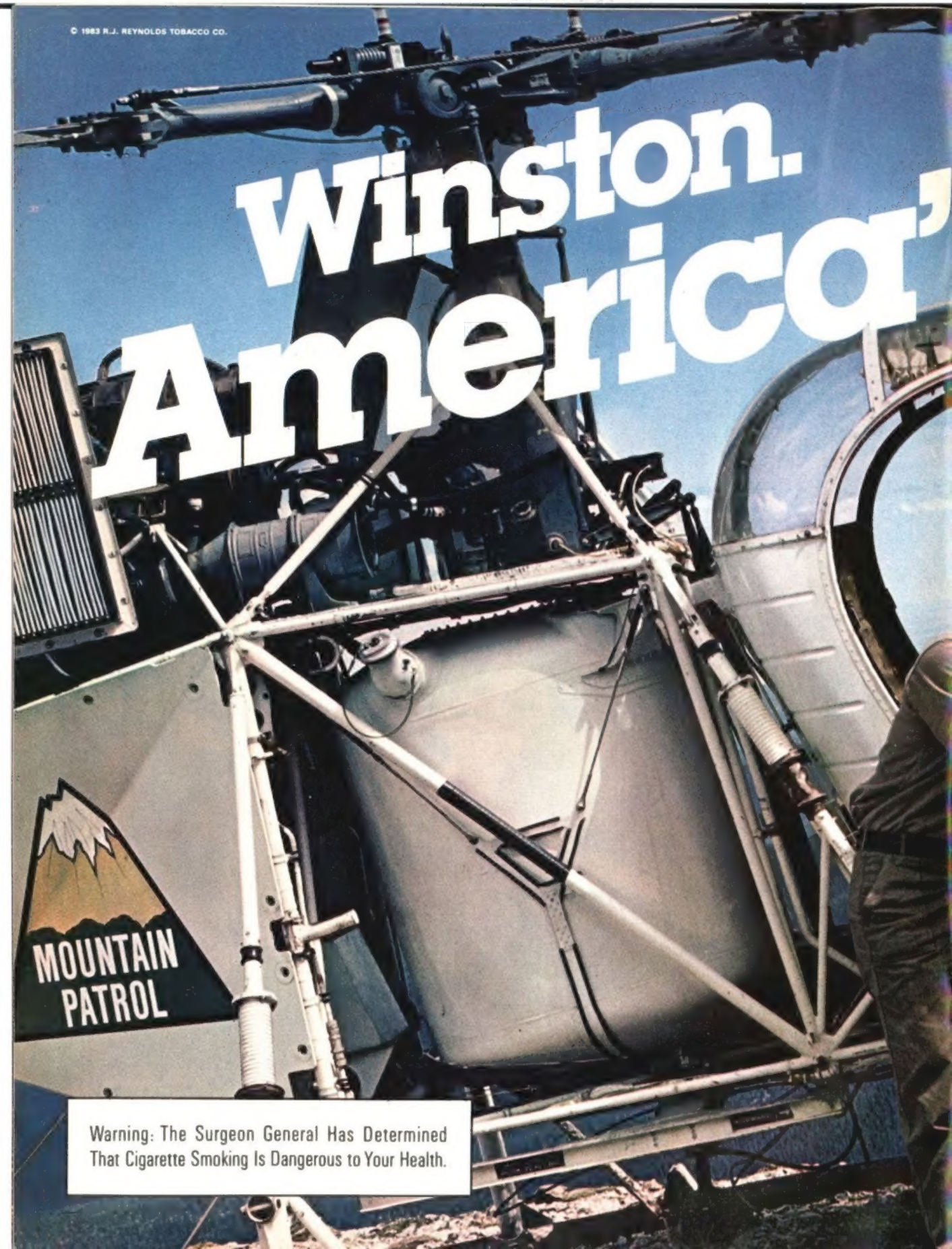
Price shopping by the patient is impossible in most cases. Professional services can only be judged after the treatment, and prices vary depending upon skill and experience. Americans need to be more inquisitive about what they are being billed for, and hospitals and physicians should be more forthcoming with this information.

Arnold H. Zweig
Studio City, Calif.

No Squealing

The letters you have published on the "squeal rule" [Feb. 28] have opposed it. The issue is not whether teen-age pregnancies will increase under the conditions


America's
Best.
MOUNTAIN
PATROL

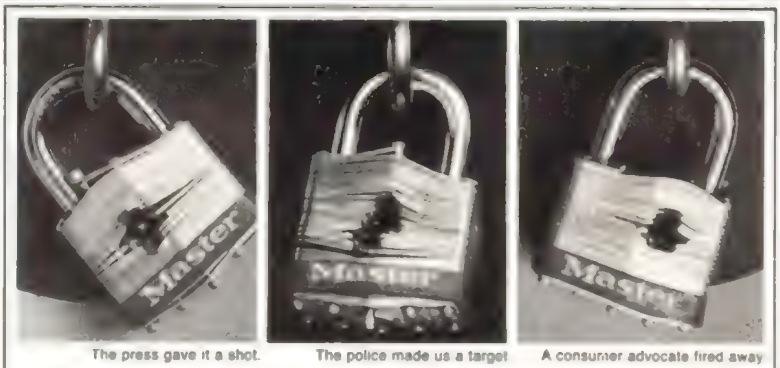

© 1983 R.J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO CO.
Winston.
America'
MOUNTAIN
PATROL
Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

s Best.
Winston
FILTERS
nston
100's
Join the first team.
Reach for Winston.
nicotine, av. per cigarette by FTC method.

Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary. It's where the words live.

America's best-selling dictionary brings new life to words. And new words to life. Definitions for over 150,000 entries, including 22,000 new ones, are so clear and precise that "android" becomes a household word and "black hole" no longer scares you. We're constantly redefining "dictionary." An excellent gift for just $14.95. Merriam-Webster® Dictionaries, Springfield, MA 01101.

FROM MERRIAM-WEBSTER®



The press gave it a shot. The police made us a target. A consumer advocate fired away.

MASTER TAKES SNIPERS' BEST SHOTS.

Newspapers, magazines, police departments, even a famous consumer advocate all thought it looked too good to be true. So they duplicated our amazing TV demonstration. They gave it their best shot, blasting Master padlocks with high-powered rifles. And in dozens of documented cases, the locks held tight — even after sustaining considerable damage. Bullet proof . . . that Master locks really are tough under fire!

Master Lock
Tough under fire.

Letters

set down by the regulation. The question is: Who raises the children—the parents or the Federal Government?

Bill B. Boykin
Wichita, Kans.

Proper Bedfellows?

It is refreshing to read about how the Mafia helped locate the abducted Brigadier General James Dozier [Feb. 28]. When a man's life is at stake, does it matter what source is used to save that life?

Bette Amsler
Santa Monica, Calif.

Turning to the Mafia is like praying to the devil.

Cecelia A. Welsh
Northport, N.Y.

Right Time

The arrest of Frank Wills [Feb. 28], the man responsible for the discovery of the Watergate break-in, suggests that we place greater value on a $12 pair of shoes than on our democratic institutions. How else do you explain a twelve-month jail sentence for the theft of sneakers, and lesser penalties for the attempted theft of our highest institutions?

Ian R. Walker
Princeton, N.J.

The Watergate conspirators were admittedly misguided and wrong. But it is ridiculous to justify Frank Wills' crime as anything less than what it is. He is a convicted thief who was sentenced to twelve months in jail by a state court. This has nothing to do with how much time others do for different crimes.

Lester F. Lind
Hydro, Okla.

Leveling Lever House

In this age, when we value our cultural heritage, it is unbelievable that anyone would propose razing Lever House [Feb. 21]. To destroy one of the most important buildings to come out of the International Style and replace it with a trendy structure is stupid.

Thomas Grant Whitcomb
Minneapolis

Lever House was the first building I ever noticed for its architecture. The structure possessed the glamour that New York City exuded. With all the look-alike buildings that have been erected, why tear down the most innovative of the lot?

Marcia Kirstein Fitzmaurice
Dallas

If Lever House is outdated, then it should be torn down. The city must stay up-to-date if it is to create new jobs and bring in more tax money.

David D. Latimer
Indiana, Pa.

ANY WAY YOU LOOK AT IT, DODGE MINI RAM IS THE STATION WAGON, with more people and cargo space, more miles per tankful, better driving and parking visibility than conventional station wagons.

DODGE MINI RAM: THE NO-COMPROMISE WAGON.

Think of all the reasons you want and need a station wagon. Now think of all you have to give up in today's conventional station wagon. Here are at least nine reasons why you should re-think Dodge Mini Ram...engineered without compromise to give you all that yesterday's station wagon gave you...and a whole lot more.

	Dodge Mini Ram	Chevy Impala/Caprice	Ford Country Squire
MSRP*	$9,587	$9,518	$10,253
EPA Est. MPG/Est. HWY.** Range	(19)25 (684)900	(16)25 (352)550	(17)26 (315)481
No. of Passengers	8	8	6
Max. Cargo Length	120.1 in.	90.2 in.	91.2 in.
Cargo Volume***	201.5 cu. ft.	87.9 cu. ft.	99.4 cu. ft.
Standard Engine HP @ RPM Torque @ RPM	225 Slant-6 95 @ 3600 170 @ 1200	5.0 L V8 150 @ 4000 240 @ 2400	5.0 EFI V8 130 @ 3200 240 @ 2000
Side Door Entry/Loading (W x H)	39.8" x 47.2"	28.1" x 37.9"	28.9" x 37.0"
Rear Opening (W x H)	49.2" x 47.2"	48.2" x 28.7"	49.0" x 28.1"
Full Size Spare Tire	Yes	No	Yes

Today, conventional solutions no longer solve problems. That's particularly true if you want and need the comfort, convenience and versatility of a genuine station wagon. Consider the Dodge Mini Ram. It's no conventional solution—but it may well be your best.

BUILT RAM TOUGH TO LAST

For durability and security, Dodge Mini Ram Wagon is built to go beyond just plain "tough." It's Ram Tough. Steel roofs are buttressed by steel supports. Thousands of precisely-positioned welds bind the Mini Ram's body into a light but strong unit. That also helps eliminate the rattles and squeaks that so often afflict conventional station wagons and other vehicles that are bolted or riveted together.

And Dodge Mini Ram fights rust in critical areas with the most galvanized steel in the business—410 square feet of it. Over 92% of all Dodge trucks built in the last ten years are still on the job.†

HEADS ITS CLASS IN VALUE AND MODEL YEAR SALES

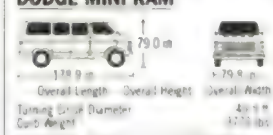
Consider all the extra advantages Dodge Mini Ram offers you...all the ways it uniquely satisfies your station wagon needs—all of it's sheer value for your money—and a switch from conventional thinking becomes downright logical.

Here's something else to think about: In the last model year, the Mini Ram Wagon, Dodge and other Chrysler Corporation wagons outsold Ford and Chevy van wagons.††

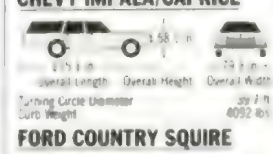
Test drive *the* station wagon. Ask your Dodge dealer about buying or leasing one. And remember, always buckle up for safety.

JUST HOW "BIG" IS THE DODGE MINI RAM? COMPARE THE KEY DIMENSIONS:

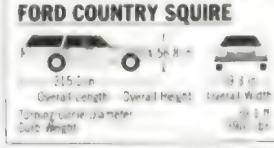
DODGE MINI RAM



CHEVY IMPALA/CAPRICE



FORD COUNTRY SQUIRE

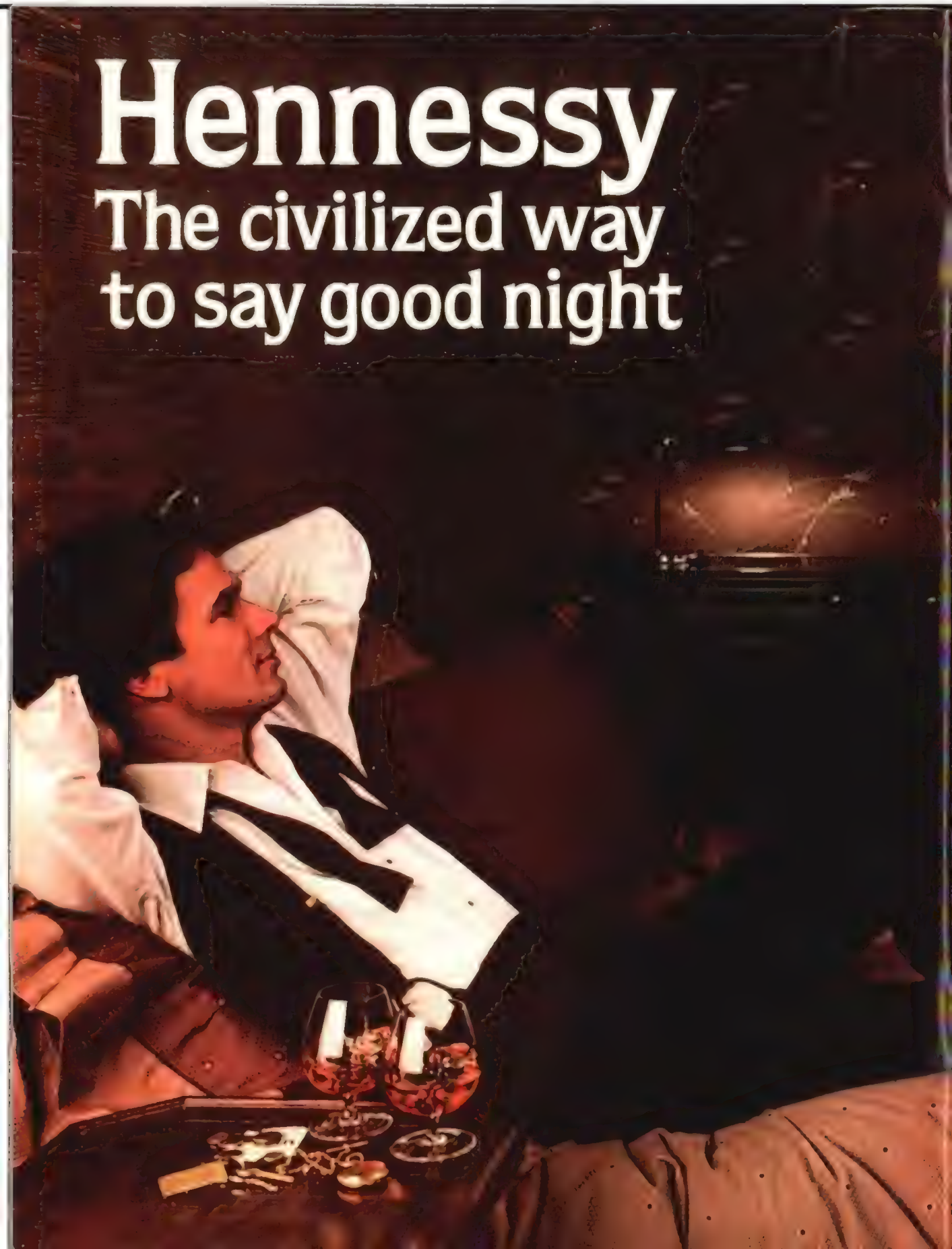


*Title, taxes, destination charges excluded.
**Use EPA est. mpg for comparison. Your mileage range may vary depending on speed, distance and weather. CA est. lower. Range: EPA est. x tank capacity.
***SAE procedure HSJ 1100a for Mini Ram. EPA volume index for station wagons.
†R. L. Polk & Co. registrations thru 7-1-81.
††Based on 1982 model year retail deliveries.

RAM TOUGH

Dodge Trucks

THE NEW CHRYSLER CORPORATION
QUALITY ENGINEERED TO BE THE BEST


Hennessy
The civilized way
to say good night

COGNAC
Hennessy
The world's most civilized spirit

Best in Best's Again!

Life Insurance Rankings

Company	Average Yearly Payment	Average Yearly Difference	Surrender Cost Index	Interest Adjusted Payment Index
Northwestern Mutual Life	1	1	1	1
Connecticut Mutual	8	18	11	8
Equitable	21	15	16	22
John Hancock	16	8	10	15
Massachusetts Mutual	12	7	6	12
Metropolitan	47	24	41	56
New England Life	34	26	27	34
New York Life	31	11	17	30
Phoenix Mutual	12	15	21	23
Prudential	50	41	52	54

Source: Best's Review, November, 1982.

We're #1 in the rating.
In the life insurance industry, A.M. Best Co. is recognized as *the* performance rating authority. In their November, 1982, Best's Review they've compared the actual dividend performance (not illustrations) over 20 years of the largest life insurance companies in the country. In all four categories that were the basis for comparison, Northwestern Mutual Life ranked number one. Outdistancing all other companies including such well-known giants as Prudential, Metropolitan Life and John Hancock, as shown in the chart above.

Additionally, based on their analysis of financial position and operating performance, A.M. Best Co. has assigned Northwestern Mutual their highest General Policyowner's Rating of A + (Excellent).

How we intend to stay #1.
Our current performance is only a prologue to our future. Because we will continue to offer policyowners outstanding values and more innovative programs to answer their needs.

Our most recent program, **UPDATE '83,** will offer our policyowners the opportunity to increase their dividends. Some up to 40% or more — without an increase in premiums. A revolutionary program to be sure, but for Northwestern Mutual it's just another reason why for over 125 years we've been a leader in low-cost, long-term life insurance. A record that is the envy of the industry. And a record that makes other companies realize we're a tough act to follow. Simply because we're best . . . in Best's! "Call about our exciting career opportunities, too."

Northwestern Mutual Life
The Quiet Company

A tough act to follow

THE GRANUM AGENCY, INC.
208 South LaSalle Street
Chicago, Illinois 60604
(312) 641-8900

HARRY P. HOOPIS, CLU & ASSOCIATES
790 Frontage Road
Northfield, Illinois 60093
(312) 441-7850

THE FELLINGER CORPORATION
150 South Wacker Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60606
(312) 781-2700

ALVIN G. POFAHL, CLU & ASSOCIATES
72 North Alfred Street
Elgin, Illinois 60120
(312) 742-1183

© The Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 1983

Letters

Lever House belongs not to real estate speculators but to architectural history. Despite its problems, the building succeeds in making us aware of what you call "our unfashionable past." It is cold, aloof and arrogant, but so was the character of the International Style and of the corporate patrons of its day.

Rafael A. Crespo
Professor of Architectural History
San Juan

Farewell, *M*A*S*H*

Most TV programs are populated by voluptuous females, lonely police officers and superhuman doctors. *M*A*S*H* [Feb. 28] dared to break stereotypes and tradition. It was intelligent, enlightening and enchanting, and brought class into our living rooms.

Vinnie Senatore Pratt
Totowa, N.J.

I am sad to see *M*A*S*H* end. I feel as if a family member has died.

Barbara Blamble
Baltimore

We laughed at *M*A*S*H* until we cried, and cried until we laughed. It was a beautiful show.

Mr. and Mrs. E. Brown Mills
Old Forge, N.Y.

I cannot mourn the passing of *M*A*S*H*, a program that often portrayed the American forces as lovers of war and all U.S. military actions as wrong.

Kate Steele
Springfield, Mo.

*M*A*S*H* did irreparable harm to our military and our country. The program took a serious situation and turned it into a farce. Viewers ate it up because it was funny.

William L. Gage
Williamsport, Pa.

Eleanor and ERA

In Hugh Sidey's column "Taking Notes for History" [Feb. 28], Eleanor Roosevelt is said to have been against the ERA. It is true that for a while Mrs. Roosevelt opposed an Equal Rights Amendment on the ground that it might overturn protective legislation for women. But by the mid-1940s, the former First Lady had changed her view. From that time on, Eleanor Roosevelt was a staunch supporter of an ERA.

Christine A. Lunardini, Lecturer
Department of History
Princeton, N.J.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR should be addressed to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020, and should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone. Letters may be edited for purposes of clarity or space.

A 5-part series that may surprise you

Part I.
Just how profitable is oil?

Try this true or false mini-quiz:

■ Oil companies make a large volume of dollars
That's true.

■ Oil companies are therefore very profitable.
That's false.

To understand the apparent contradiction between making money and being profitable, consider the following:

■ Mobil earned $1.38 billion in 1982. But to do so we had to sell 11 billion gallons of gasoline.

■ Plus 8 billion gallons of distillate.

■ Plus over a trillion cubic feet of natural gas.

■ Plus thousands of other products.

■ Our profit on each dollar of sales was not 62¢, as most people questioned in a recent survey thought.

■ It was not even a quarter, or a dime, or a nickel.

■ It was just over 2¢ worldwide.

An even more basic measure of profitability is the rate of return on shareholders' equity. A company, after all, is in essence a legal entity that invests shareholders' money, in the hope of earning those shareholders a profit.

■ In 1982 Mobil's return on shareholders' equity was 9.4%. The average return for all manufacturing industries was 11%.

■ In earlier years, return on shareholders' equity in the oil industry varied: sometimes higher, sometimes lower than for other industries. But over the full period 1968 to 1981, oil's median rate was 14.3%, trailing behind all manufacturing's rate of 14.9%.

■ In most years, oil companies have been less profitable than pharmaceuticals, cosmetics and soap, and even newspapers and broadcasting.

Despite the fact that oil is hardly a profitability leader, the industry is among the most highly taxed in the nation:

■ In 1979, the year before the so-called "windfall profit" tax went into effect, large oil companies paid an average 31% of their U.S. income in federal, state, and local income taxes, compared with about 36% for an average of 100 leading non-oil industrial corporations. But by 1980, oil companies' taxes, including the "windfall profit" tax, were up to 43% while the non-oil companies' rate dipped to 29%; and oil company taxes went to 51% in 1981, with non-oil taxes going down to 26%.

Just as federal levies hit the oil industry harder than other industries, so do state and local governments take a bigger bite out of oil company revenues than they do out of other types of business. And oil producers pay billions of dollars in severance taxes on oil production and property taxes on oil and gas reserves.

The trouble with common wisdom—those "facts" everybody takes for granted—is that it often isn't accurate, let alone wise. And that's certainly the case with the common wisdom about the oil business. We aren't as profitable as painted. And we pay more than our share of taxes. Those happen to be the uncommon facts.

Next: Are oil's rewards worth today's risks?

Mobil

© 1983 Mobil Corporation

TIME/MARCH 21, 1983

Hardening the Line

The President talks tough, but the policies are not always in train

Ronald Reagan has never shown any particular longing to be his own Secretary of State, nor any reticence about expressing his strongly held views about the state of the world and America's role in it. But of late something seems awry in the connection between these two propositions. It was only last summer that moderation, pragmatism, flexibility were the words that nearly everyone used in anticipating the Administration's post-Haig approach to foreign policy. Those were the qualities George Shultz was expected to contribute as Reagan's second Secretary of State. But they are scarcely the words that leap to mind today. On issue after issue, Shultz has let others take the lead in defining policy, sometimes joining them in harsh speech, sometimes keeping silent. The result over the past month or so has been an Administration swing to tough talk, especially on El Salvador but on other subjects as well, that surprises many observers at home and abroad. Says one French government official: "What we are seeing in Washington these days is the comeback of the hard-liners."

That perception may be overdrawn: the shift is far more noticeable in oratory than in the substance of policy. But on the rhetorical level it is fully deliberate. White House advisers fear that the Administration is losing the consensus for a rapid U.S. military buildup that President Reagan had created. Says one of Reagan's advisers: "We need to give a better justification for our military plans." The best way to do that, aides believe, is to emphasize once again the threat of Soviet expansionism.

The President, whose natural inclinations run to hard anti-Soviet rhetoric anyway, needed little urging. In a fire-and-brimstone speech last week to a convention of evangelical Christians in Orlando, Fla., he decried Communism as "the focus of evil in the modern world" and summoned the U.S. to resist "the aggressive impulses of an evil empire."

In a speech to the National Association of Manufacturers in Washington, Reagan drew an ominous picture of worldwide consequences that would result from a Communist victory in El Salvador. "If guerrilla violence succeeds," he said, " . . El Salvador will join Cuba and Nicaragua as a base for spreading fresh violence to Guatemala, Honduras, even Costa Rica. The killing will increase, and so will the threat to Panama, the Canal and ultimately Mexico." That, he added, would advance the aims of "Soviet military theorists [who] want to tie down our forces on our own southern border and so limit our capacity to act in more distant places such as Europe, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, the Sea of Japan."

To what extent does the escalation of rhetoric mirror a real shift in policy? The evidence is mixed. In some areas, policy appears to be unchanged; in others it seems to be hardening, although not to the bellicose point that Reagan's words might suggest; and in very few does Shultz appear to be having a tempering effect. Perhaps the Secretary of State's mild manner was misconstrued as moderation in policy; indeed, when his past experience in Government and business is examined closely, there is little evidence to suggest he is anything but conservative. In any event, his failure to be more forceful has contributed to the impression that U.S. foreign policy is on a shaky course. Positions on the major problems:

EL SALVADOR. In contrast to his predecessor Alexander Haig, who trumpeted the dangers of a victory by Communist-led guerrillas, Shultz left policy largely to Assistant Secretary Thomas Enders. The White House staff suspected Enders of not being sufficiently hard-line. Worried by the advice of U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick that the situation was likely to deteriorate, National Security Adviser William Clark in effect took policy formulation away from the State Department and centralized it in the White House. The immediate result was a confusing debate among the President's advisers about whether the force of American military advisers (the Administration prefers to call them "trainers") would be increased beyond the current self-imposed limit of 55 and how big an increase in military aid to the Salvadoran government the White House would propose. Presidential aides first said $60 million, then suddenly nearly doubled it to $110 million.

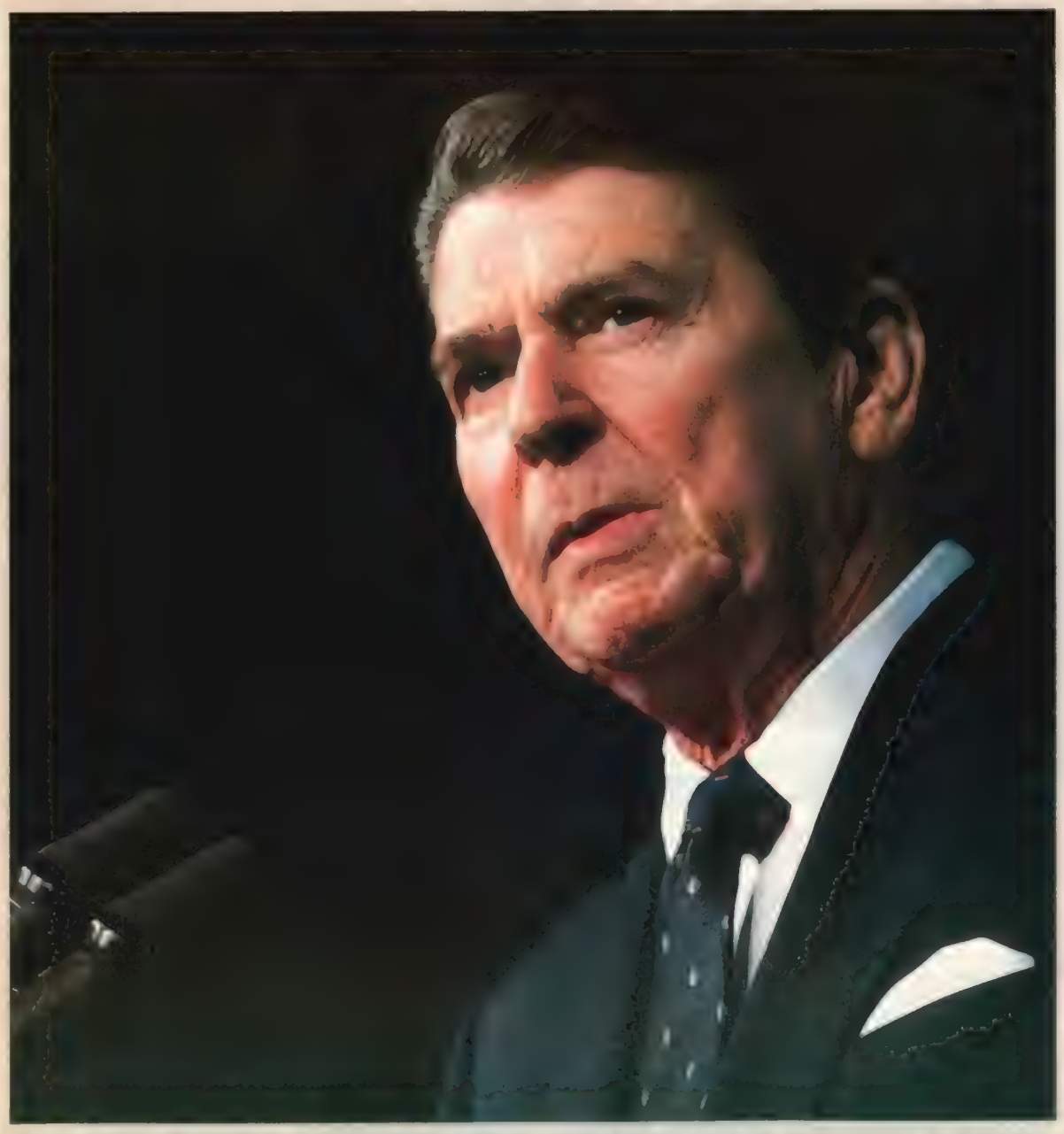
Reagan last week settled the debate and approved a $110 million package of military aid, on top of a relatively uncontroversial $67 million in economic assistance. The military program was artfully shaped to minimize opposition from the many Congressmen who fear the U.S. is repeating some of the mistakes it made in Viet Nam. None of the $110 million would be new money. Some $60 million would be redirected to El Salvador from military-aid funds already appropriated for other countries; it will be used mainly for ammunition and spare parts for military equipment. Congress as a whole will not vote on this switch, but two Senate committees and one in the House must approve, reject or modify it within 15 days. The first vote comes this week in a House appropriations subcommittee, and it is expected to be very close.

The remaining $50 million would be switched to El Salvador from military-assistance funds that the Administration had earlier requested for other countries, and would be spent largely to bring Salvadoran government troops to the U.S. for training. Congress can reject this proposal, but only, Reagan and his aides warn, at the price of spurring the Administration to do what many legislators dread most: send more Americans to El Salvador. If Salvadoran soldiers cannot be brought to the U.S., officials explain, they will have to be trained "in country," and that would require more than 55 U.S. advisers.

Although this proposal has prompted some howls of "blackmail," the chances are slightly better than fifty-fifty that Congress will vote the money. The question is what strings it will attach. At minimum, it might legislate a ban on the use of U.S. combat troops in El Salvador. At maximum, some liberals are talking of making increased aid conditional on American-promoted negotiations between the Salvadoran government and the guerrillas. Administration officials warn that they would reject the money and, by inference, that they would send more advisers to El Salvador, rather than prod the government of that country into sharing power with the insurgents.

A compromise is possible. In his speech to the manufacturers, Reagan laid stress on a "political solution," with negotiations aimed at getting the guerrillas to participate in the Salvadoran elections, now tentatively scheduled for December. Since congressional critics also favor open elections, the two branches might be able to agree on an aid plan requiring some sort of talks.

EUROMISSILES. The victory of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats in the West German elections March 6 has strengthened the voice of a coterie of advisers in the Pentagon and White House who urge Reagan to hold fast to the zero option in talks with the U.S.S.R.



"If guerrilla violence succeeds . . . El Salvador will join Cuba and Nicaragua as a base for spreading fresh violence to Guatemala, Honduras, even Costa Rica. The killing will increase, and so will the threat to Panama, the canal and, ultimately, Mexico."

"The Soviets have not slowed the pace of their enormous military buildup. They are dramatically expanding their navy and air force . . . and are using their military power to extend their influence and enforce their will in every corner of the globe."

"Let us be aware that while they preach the supremacy of the state . . . and predict its eventual domination of all peoples on earth, they are the focus of evil in the modern world."

Photograph for TIME by Diana Walker

at Geneva, rather than propose an "interim solution" favored by many European governments (including Kohl's) and a group in the State Department. Under the zero option, the U.S. would cancel plans to station 572 single-warhead Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe if the Soviets dismantle 351 triple-warhead SS-20s already in place. An interim solution would trade deployment of fewer U.S. missiles for a reduction in the Soviet SS-20 force, leaving a roughly equal number of warheads (possibly 300) on each side.

Kohl during his campaign specifically reaffirmed his commitment to accept the U.S. missiles if there is no agreement at Geneva, while some of his foes argued against any American missiles under any conditions. Thus, Kohl's triumph, in the Pentagon's view, lessened Moscow's hopes that widespread antinuclear agitation will force European governments to reject the American missiles without any Soviet concessions at all. The Pentagon's conclusion: the pressure is on the Kremlin, not on Washington, to make the next move at Geneva. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger argued once more last week against any interim agreement, contending that negotiating one would make it more difficult to get the Soviets back to the table "for the follow-up."

European governments unanimously warn, however, that standing pat on the zero option would be a calamitous mistake. In their view, European public opinion will accept U.S. missiles only if it is convinced that Washington has made an all-out effort to limit the number of warheads on both sides, and now, with Moscow on the defensive as the result of the German elections, is the time to make a new proposal. Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo visited Washington last week to press on both Reagan and Shultz the case for an interim formula. Colombo had talked with Kohl by telephone before leaving and emphasized in Washington that other European governments agreed with his stand.

Though Reagan has talked vaguely of flexibility at Geneva, Weinberger and Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle are dominating discussion within the Administration. State Department advocates of a new missile offer at times have been reduced to conferring furtively by telephone. They can come out in the open only if Shultz takes their side and carries their arguments to the President, at the risk of a sharp clash with Weinberger. Most aides expect Shultz to do so. Says one: "He has got to deal with the alliance, and he knows how divisive this issue can be." His passive performance in recent months, however, could cost him on arms control. "You often prevail in Washington on the basis of momentum," says a former State Department official. "The more issues you win, the better chance you have of winning the next one." Not that Shultz has indicated a strong desire to win a more flexible approach in Geneva. To date he has kept so quiet on this subject that even his most intimate associates do not know what his views on arms control are.

Kirkpatrick testifying before a House subcommittee

MIDDLE EAST. Hopes rose last week that the U.S. may at last be close to mediating a withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Lebanese Foreign Minister Elie Salem scheduled trips to Washington to confer separately with Shultz, presumably about a withdrawal; there was some speculation that Shultz would conduct a kind of shoe-leather shuttle between adjoining offices to convey their views to each other. The Secretary of State was en-

Purple Shades of Al Haig

His outward calm and deliberate style made George Shultz a reassuring replacement for the mercurial Alexander Haig as Secretary of State. But lately, signs of testiness have pierced Shultz's placidity. After one outburst, Democratic Congressman Michael Barnes observed, "That was not the George Shultz we have come to know and love. It was the living ghost of Al Haig."

Shultz's first display of irritability came during a discussion last month with U.S. businessmen in Peking. They complained that European governments did more than Washington to foster trade with China. If trade relations were better elsewhere, Shultz asked tartly, "why don't you move to Western Europe?"

Two weeks later, Shultz's voice crackled with emotion as he defended the Administration's refusal to encourage negotiations in El Salvador between the government and the guerrillas. "Let them shoot their way into the government?" he exploded at a House Foreign Affairs Committee hearing. "No dice!" The next time he was on Capitol Hill, Shultz put the Roman Catholic Church virtually in league with the Soviets over El Salvador. Asked about the problems of Soviet Jews, Shultz seemed to take the question out of context, declaring, "It is a subject we bring up every time we meet with somebody from the Soviet Union, and I suppose it is a subject that might be asked the churchmen who want to see Soviet influence in El Salvador improved." He apparently referred to bishops who have been pressing for a "dialogue" between the guerrillas and the government.

Shultz before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee

What is prompting such statements? Shultz attributed his remarks in China to "a little annoyance and a lot of fatigue." Intimates suggest that the pressures of his job are bringing the private side of Shultz into public view. Says one: "He has a hell of a temper. You should play golf with him." Perhaps Shultz is trying to show the White House and Pentagon that he is no pushover. Indeed, many in the State Department hope that Shultz is getting into fighting trim for the foreign policy battles ahead.

couraged enough to begin planning a visit of his own to the Middle East in late March, though only if there is some breakthrough in Washington.

A breakthrough could not come too soon. Shultz's greatest triumph in foreign policy was to persuade Reagan to offer a peace plan last Sept. 1 for the Middle East; the proposal hinges on Israeli and Arab negotiators' reaching an agreement to grant self-government to the Palestinians living in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, in some kind of association with Jordan. But to get such negotiations started will require a kind of domino process: first, the Israelis and all other foreign troops must pull out of Lebanon; then, King Hussein of Jordan, in combination with the Palestinians, must offer to bargain with Israel; finally, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin must somehow be persuaded to negotiate on some basis other than Israeli sovereignty over the West Bank.

If negotiations do not begin soon, the peace plan is in great danger of going the way of so many previous ones—that is, of being ignored. Elias Freij, mayor of Bethlehem and one of the Palestinians the U.S. has been counting on to negotiate with Israel, commented last week: "The Americans can't even get the Israelis out of Lebanon. We have to take a second look at the whole thing." Even if the Israelis do pull out of Lebanon and the Arabs offer to negotiate, heavy American pressure may be required to get Begin to budge. The British Foreign Office has been quietly advising Washington that a threat of American sanctions, possibly extending even to an embargo on arms sales to Israel, may be necessary. This is a rare case of friends of U.S. foreign policy accusing that policy of not being hard-line enough.

On all these matters Shultz has moved with supreme caution and kept his own counsel. Even in talking with close aides, he always says "The President thinks . . ." rather than "I think." Says one longtime associate: "Shultz moves like an elephant. He waits to put each foot down until he can be certain that the ground will hold him."

In the absence of a strong lead from Shultz, the President's ear has been captured by right-wing advisers such as Clark and Weinberger. Even on Middle East policy, Shultz is in some danger of being upstaged. The very pro-Israel Kirkpatrick departed Saturday on a trip of her own to Israel, Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia, from which she will return on March 26, doubtless with some strongly worded advice for Reagan.

Shultz, of course, might be playing his cards close to the chest for the simple reason that he has no real disagreements with the Administration's current line and thus feels no great need to speak up. Even so, both the Administration and the world ought to hear a strong, clear voice from the Secretary of State. *—By George J. Church. Reported by Johanna McGeary and Gregory H. Wierzynski/Washington*

Knotting Policy with Purse Strings

An aid request for El Salvador makes Congress touchy and testy

What does $110 million represent in an $800 billion federal budget? Not much. Yet the Reagan Administration faces a stiff battle as it tries to get Congress to approve that amount of money in increased military aid to El Salvador. The confrontation is not over the relatively insignificant sum; it is over the policy the money sustains. The stakes involved in the outcome are far higher than the dollars would suggest.

The debate revolves around means, not ends. President Reagan favors negotiations between the Salvadoran government and the leftist guerrillas to get the rebels to participate in elections. Congressional critics have the same goal, but they want to go further than the Administration in spelling out conditions that the Salvadoran government would have to meet in order to get the aid. For example, they say, the government must offer amnesty to guerrillas who join in the voting and guarantee their safety. An unconditional increase in U.S. aid, the critics argue, would prolong the fighting and possibly trap the U.S. in a Viet Nam–style quagmire.

There are substantial dangers, however, in the efforts by the aid critics to use the threat of withholding funds as a lever to pry policy concessions from the Administration. Virtually no one expects the Salvadoran government forces to collapse if the money is withheld. In fact, some U.S. intelligence reports indicate that the government troops could fight on indefinitely without any fresh U.S. aid. The military equipment they need in this "low-tech" war can be secured on the open arms market.

The big risk in withholding U.S. funds is a political one, which, indirectly, could cause the situation in El Salvador to deteriorate into chaos. The U.S. would be perceived as having abandoned the government, making the guerrillas seem to be a far more formidable force than they really are. Feeling betrayed, the government might cancel any further attempts at land reform and remove any restrictions on its trigger-happy troops, leading to even greater violations of human rights. In that bloody atmosphere, sympathy for the guerrillas might grow, and hopes for the very dialogue that opponents of the funding want to promote would be doomed. If Congress rejects the aid request, contends a State Department official, any attempt by the Salvadoran government to open negotiations with the guerrillas would be tantamount to saying, "We're about to surrender."

There is general agreement that the Salvadoran army, while not in imminent danger of being routed, has been performing poorly, and is not improving. One purpose of the extra U.S. funds would be to provide better training for the government forces. Not at all incidentally, the mere announcement of added aid might strengthen their willingness to fight. Indeed, if there is an element of crisis in the aid request, it is that the Salvadoran army could be totally demoralized if Congress withholds the extra funds.

If the aid is finally approved, U.S. advisers in El Salvador have plenty of ideas about how to put it to use. They want to send 1,000 already selected Salvadoran soldiers to training bases in Florida, Arizona and Texas, all of which have climates similar to El Salvador's. They would like to equip 14 light battalions, each consisting of 350 men, to respond quickly to emergency situations created by the rebels. They also hope to be able to work more closely with departmental commanders in the Salvadoran army to develop more effective tactics and strategy.

Sums up a senior U.S. diplomat: "There is no guarantee that El Salvador's democracy will succeed with our help. But there is a guarantee that it will never succeed without it." ■

Sizing Up the Enemy

The U.S. details the "lengthening shadow" of Soviet power

The Soviet threat. It is the driving force behind the Administration's major rearmament program and NATO's embattled effort to base nuclear missiles in Western Europe. So, as the 1984 defense budget heads toward a showdown in Congress and Deployment Day for Europe's new missiles approaches, the Pentagon last week once again emphasized in stark terms the menacing force the West must counter. "The facts are clear," warns a new Defense Department document. "The lengthening shadow of Soviet military power cannot be wished away or ignored."

The report, which was presented at a press conference by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, contains a mixture of good news and bad. "I think we have begun to catch up," said Weinberger. One source of comfort: the production rate of many major Soviet weapons has tapered off slightly, at least for now. But the study also shows that in every category of armaments, from missiles to submarines to aircraft, the Soviets are continuing their drive for new offensive systems. "They seem to aim at world domination," said Weinberger. "We need sufficient and credible military capabilities to counter the threats arrayed against us."

Agreeing with the implications of the Pentagon report, President Reagan stressed Moscow's relentless development of greater offensive capabilities. "In little over a year, they have begun testing new models in almost every class of nuclear weapons," he said in a statement accompanying the study. "They are dramatically expanding their navy and air force, are training and equipping their ground forces for pre-emptive attack, and are using their military power to extend their influence and enforce their will in every corner of the globe."

The Pentagon's pamphlet, titled *Soviet Military Power*, was prepared by the Defense Intelligence Agency. It revises and brings up to date a similar study released in September 1981. That initial survey grew out of a secret "threat assessment" presented to NATO defense ministers. So startling were its findings that White House advisers and allied leaders prevailed on the Defense Department to declassify much of its contents in order to dampen disarmament sentiment in Western Europe and the U.S. The new edition focuses on Soviet strides since then. Among them:

▸ The Soviets have begun flight-testing two new models of ICBMs while improving the accuracy and hardening the silos of existing ones. "The Soviets have deployed more highly accurate MX-like ICBM warheads in each of the past three years than are contained in our entire MX program," said Weinberger. "They possess the ability to destroy a large percentage of our own Minuteman ICBMs in their silos, while still providing a substantial, and largely invulnerable, reserve."

Weinberger outlining the Soviet buildup

"They seem to aim at world domination."

▸ The first Soviet Typhoon-class nuclear submarine has completed its sea trials and is now in the Northern Fleet. Each of its 20 ballistic missiles carries from six to nine nuclear warheads with a range of 5,000 miles. "It can fire from the security of Soviet home waters and hit targets in North America, Europe and Asia," said Weinberger. Construction of a second Typhoon has just been completed.

▸ While continuing to produce 30 Backfire* bombers a year, which if equipped with in-flight refueling could be used in a nuclear strike against the U.S., Moscow has begun to develop a new strategic jet dubbed the Blackjack to complement its older Tu-95 Bear long-range bombers.

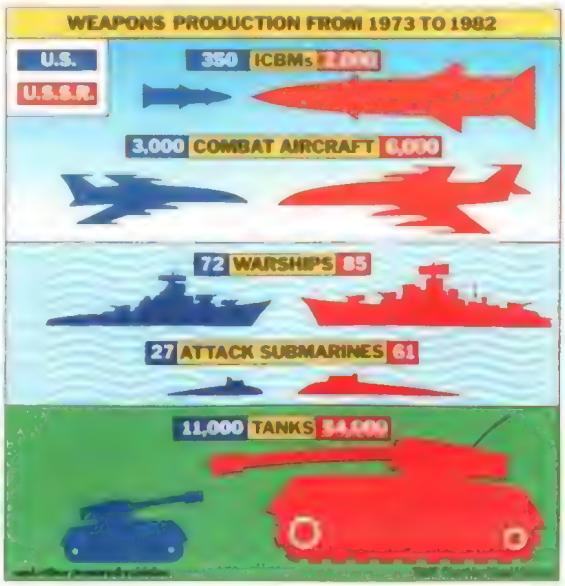
▸ Even as negotiations are under way in Geneva to limit intermediate-range nuclear missiles, which Reagan has suggested eliminating entirely as part of his zero-option proposal, the Soviets have continued to build up their arsenal of intermediate-range SS-20s. Since 1981 the number of SS-20 launchers has risen from 250 to 351. "More than two-thirds are presently located within range of NATO," the Pentagon report states.

▸ In 1981 the Soviets had two Kiev-class diesel-powered aircraft carriers. Now a third Kiev is at sea, and a fourth has just been built. In addition, the Soviets will soon begin work on their first large nuclear-powered carrier.

▸ In 1980 the Soviets developed the T-80 tank, which is a modified T-72 with additional side armor. Since then, 1,900 of these tanks have rolled off Soviet assembly lines.

One striking aspect of the report is how closely the Soviet developments parallel the weapons strategy pursued by the West. One of the two new ICBMs being tested by Moscow, for example, is similar in size and range to the proposed MX; the other is mobile, similar in concept to what some analysts have proposed for the U.S. The Soviets are also trying to counter U.S. naval superiority with a nuclear carrier resembling the *Nimitz* and missile-carrying nuclear submarines comparable to the Tridents. The Blackjack bomber is intended to fill the role proposed for America's B-1B. Two new fighter jets being developed by the Soviets, the MiG-29 Fulcrum and Su-27 Flanker, are to contain high-tech radar and weapons-guidance avionics like those in U.S. F-14s and F-15s.

The buildup is costing the Soviet Union about 15% of its G.N.P., according to the report, up from about 13% reported 1½ years ago. The cumulative dollar equivalent for the decade, says the Pentagon, is about 80% higher than



*Nicknames for Soviet planes are assigned by NATO officials. Bombers are dubbed with words beginning with *B*, such as Blackjack and Backfire, and fighters are labeled with an *F*, sometimes bizarrely, as in Foxbat and Frogfoot. The MiG and Su designations refer to two major Soviet design bureaus and honor the late Engineers Artem Mikoyan, Mikhail Gurevich and Pavel Sukhoi.

U.S. defense spending, which constitutes 6% of G.N.P. Although a fortnight ago the CIA lowered its estimate of the annual growth in Soviet military spending from about 3% a year to 2%, a substantial change and one that the Pentagon does not agree with, both agencies do agree that the slight dip in the rate of weapons production reflected in last week's report is only temporary. Explains Weinberger: "They have completed various series of weaponry and are switching over to a new series. They never stop; they have not stopped for 21 years. Whatever the precise growth rate is, the report amply documents the disparity in the number of weapons produced by the superpowers in the past decade.

For all its military might, Moscow has become badly mired in its attempt to subdue rebel forces in Afghanistan. The Pentagon study estimates that the Soviets now have 105,000 troops there, up 30,000 since the invasion three years ago. It also charges that they have violated international treaties by using chemical weapons and "scorched-earth tactics." The Soviets have even deployed their brand-new Su-25 Frogfoot attack plane, designed to provide close air support in battles. Nevertheless, they have been unable to control the Afghan countryside. Says the study: "After more than three years, the Soviets find themselves embroiled in a counterinsurgency campaign that cannot be won with current force levels."

Weinberger used his briefing to stress the need for passing the Administration's 1984 defense budget intact. "Without the MX missile, the Trident submarine and the B-1 bomber, we will be accepting permanent nuclear inferiority," he said. Weinberger's campaign to win congressional approval for his spending plans will be long and difficult. At a meeting earlier in the week, Republican leaders of the Senate Budget Committee urged Weinberger to accept significant cuts. Chairman Pete Domenici of New Mexico has indicated that the proposed increase in spending of 10% after inflation may have to be sliced in half. But the Administration has remained firm, and no formula for a compromise has emerged in the Senate. In the face of this impasse, Domenici postponed further deliberations for a week.

The glossy 107-page *Soviet Military Power*, which is filled with photographs and artistic renderings of the latest Kremlin hardware, met with mixed reviews. The Soviet news agency TASS, which called the 1981 report "a barrage of irresponsible verbiage," predictably dismissed it as "the second edition of a lie." Some Administration critics on Capitol Hill, including Democratic Senators Edward Kennedy and Gary Hart, accused the Pentagon of "scaremongering" to defend its budget. But the public release of the comprehensive survey of Moscow's military might is a compelling reminder of the very real threat facing the West. It sets a sober context for the continuing debates over U.S. defense spending and NATO strategy. ***—By Walter Isaacson. Reported by Bruce W. Nelan/Washington***

The Freeze Is Still Hot

Old resolutions never die, they just get amended

When House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Clement Zablocki of Wisconsin asked for a vote, all but one of his Democrats and even four committee Republicans said aye to this year's resolution to cap U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals at current levels. Last week's 27-to-9 vote endorsed a "mutual, verifiable freeze on testing, production and further deployment" of nuclear weapons. Passage this week by the full House seems likely.

A victory there would be somewhat deceptive, however, since the resolution is not the same one defeated by House and Senate last summer. In order to attract more votes, the sponsors amended the bill

Antinuclear protest near Capitol last week

"Not a bunch of crazy kids."

to call for negotiated arms reductions as well as a freeze. Still, Congressman Edward Markey insists that the pristine freeze has not been turned to slush. The new language is a matter of "semantics," says the Massachusetts Democrat. "It's just fiddling. It's not significant." In fact, the loosely worded compromise is a measure of how entirely symbolic the idea of a nuclear "freeze" has become.

Even so, symbols are politically important. "Last year," said Markey, "Reagan thought this was just a quiche-and-Chablis movement that would blow away over the summer. Well, it hasn't." Agrees a White House tactician: "The freeze movement is one of the best-organized grass-roots movements I've seen. It's not a bunch of crazy kids." Even so, Markey concedes, "we don't see the President changing his mind [on arms control] tomorrow."

Probably not tomorrow, certainly not today. In a speech just three hours after the House committee voted, Reagan said, "A freeze now would be a very dangerous fraud," creating "merely the illusion of peace." He and other opponents of an immediate freeze argue that it is a simplistic, unworkable prescription that could hobble U.S. arms negotiators in Geneva. They claim, too, that it would perpetuate the Soviet nuclear advantage that they believe exists. Reagan, who would surely veto any freeze measure Congress passed, had never so bitterly denounced the popular movement. "If you're going to hit hard, now is the time to do it," explained a presidential adviser.

In any event, the Republican-controlled Senate is almost certain to defeat its version of the resolution early this summer. Within a few weeks, however, a vote is due there on Kenneth Adelman's nomination to be Reagan's new director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Freeze advocates are trying to turn that into a test vote on arms control. "[Defeating] Adelman," says Massachusetts Democrat Paul Tsongas, "will be the Senate's equivalent of a freeze."

Organizers of the freeze movement are trying to solidify gains made in 1982. Last November about a third of the U.S. electorate had a chance to vote on nuclear freeze referendums, and approval was overwhelming: in all, more than 500 towns, several dozen cities and nine states have adopted such resolutions. Grassroots activity is proceeding apace, with plans for a mass rally this August in Washington, D.C.—although organizers have no hopes of topping last June's spectacle of 750,000 antinuclear demonstrators in New York City's Central Park. Outside the Capitol last week, a crowd of about 4,000 resolution supporters gathered to hear exhortations to keep lobbying for the freeze. On the other side of the Capitol were a tenth as many people at an anti-freeze demonstration, pulled together by Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority and other conservative groups.

The call for a freeze, simple and sensible sounding, has been effective as a focus for fears about nuclear war and as a vehicle for legislative action. Yet the very simplicity of the freeze idea—stop building bombs now—makes it inadequate to the technical and diplomatic rigors of arms control. Some in the movement will even admit that their real goal, now that arms talks are under way in Geneva, is not so much a freeze as it is keeping pressure on an Administration that seems reluctant to give any ground at the negotiating table. In that sense, the freeze campaign may be benign, even laudable, but only so long as it never gets what it says it wants. ■

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

The Right Rev. Ronald Reagan

High-power politicians and high-minded evangelicals have a fascination for each other that more often than not gets them both into trouble. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's constituency, but they do. Because they have such large followings, they find the temptation too great. Pols and preachers can't seem to stay away from each other.

So it was that the Right Rev. Ronald Reagan journeyed last week to the holy precincts of the 41st annual convention of the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Fla. His fiery sermon mixed statecraft and religion. He made politicians from Moscow to Washington sore and brought the divinity-school crowd out of their paneled studies with flutters and shrieks.

Those who have heard the bellow and thump of the sawdust trail could recognize such artistry in Reagan's talk. It began with a St.-Peter-in-heaven joke (Reminds me of the story about the politician and the evangelical minister arriving together at heaven's gate) and then unfurled the flag: "Freedom prospers only where the blessings of God are avidly sought and humbly accepted. Well, I am pleased to be here today with you who are keeping America great by keeping her good."

DIANA WALKER

Praying in Orlando

By then Reagan's audience could begin to see a halo glow faintly over his head and hear the rustle of feathers above. He warned against "modern-day secularism" and marched holier than thou into the forbidding swamps of abortion and teen-age sex. Reagan's righteous arm held high the Declaration of Independence ("mentions the Supreme Being no less than four times") and our coinage ("In God we trust").

In the distance the President could see that same "great spiritual awakening in America" that has been coming as long as preachers have preached.

Glowing with moral indignation, the President applied brimstone, aiming sulfurous blasts at the Soviet Union. "There is sin and evil in the world. And we are enjoined by Scripture and the Lord Jesus to oppose it with all our might . . . America has kept alight the torch of freedom . . . Let us pray for the salvation of all of those who live in that totalitarian darkness—pray they will discover the joy of knowing God. But until they do, let us be aware they are the focus of evil in the modern world."

Whew! Feathers were smoldering, eyes were moist, a first strike of prayers soared toward the Kremlin. As the band played *Onward, Christian Soldiers*, the collected evangelicals leaped to their feet in awe, realizing that the state of their art had reached a new pinnacle. Of course, the fallout started minutes later, in the media.

Church and state still do not belong together. The Rev. Billy Graham used to pray with Lyndon Johnson during the Viet Nam War, making L.B.J. proud. But when Graham questioned the war, Johnson felt betrayed. Graham was right back in the White House praying with Richard Nixon, only to be shaken himself when Watergate revealed Nixon covering up crimes. Jimmy Carter, himself an amateur evangelist, had his worst days when he put his faith (and our future) in his goodness instead of the Sixth Fleet. But even he never mixed God and Government as baldly as Reagan did in Orlando.

Maybe the worst thing about Reagan's sermon was that all the trumpets and organ rolls obscured and discredited the truth in his message: the Soviet Union remains the free world's principal disturber of the peace.

But how we deal with the Soviets is not something that can be decided by self-anointed soldiers of God armed with unbending judgments about who and what are good and moral. Who is to say that we have a divine monopoly? At his last summit meeting, Leonid Brezhnev, his health failing badly, said a curious thing: "God will not forgive us if we fail." So much for godless Communism. Comrade Brezhnev, it seemed, believed in the great Politburo in the sky.

On and Off

Pension progress, job troubles

It had taken the House two years of acrimonious debate to bring the contentious question to heel. But when legislation proposed by an unusual blue-ribbon panel to save the financially troubled Social Security system finally reached the floor last week, the vast package barreled through to bipartisan approval, 282 to 148. Passage of the bill, said Minority Leader Robert H. Michel, was "born of necessity and ripened of bipartisan deliberation."

Only two equally unpalatable solutions were possible: increase the taxes that fund the system or reduce benefits. In the end the House followed the recommendation of the National Commission on Social Security Reform and voted for both. The bill it passed would speed up increases in Social Security taxes, while making modest reductions in benefits, including taxation of some benefits for people with high (more than $25,000) income. It would also mandate inclusion of new Government employees, who begin working after Jan. 1, 1984, in the program. Until now the federal work force has had its own insurance system. And it would raise the retirement age gradually from the current 65 to 67 by the year 2027.

If the House package becomes law, the Social Security system will be buoyed by revenue increases and spending cuts totaling $165.3 billion from 1983 to 1989. The legislation now moves for approval to the Senate, where Colorado Republican William Armstrong has promised stiff opposition to the proposed tax hikes and levies on benefits.

Just how easily popular legislation can become untracked was demonstrated last week by an unedifying battle over the $4.9 billion jobs bill, which was passed by the House two weeks ago. Instead of sailing through the Senate as expected, it has been held up by an amendment supported by the powerful banking lobby and tacked on by Republican Senator Robert W. Kasten of Wisconsin. The amendment would bar the withholding of taxes on dividends and interest by banks, as required by President Reagan's 1982 tax package. Fearing that Kasten's idea has considerable support, Senate Finance Committee Chairman Robert Dole launched what amounted to a filibuster against passage. Said Dole: "I do not understand why people should not pay their taxes. If we do not want people to pay taxes, let us repeal the income tax." Dole has a powerful ally in the White House. Said Reagan last Friday: "I'm deeply disturbed that the jobs bill will suddenly become a Christmas tree for special-interest legislation. I think that the banking industry would do a lot better to spend its time thinking about lowering interest rates than lobbying the way they are. I would veto such legislation." ■

These Citibank cards can actually save you money.

Any MasterCard or Visa card can help you spend money. But with a MasterCard or Visa card from Citibank, you have access to a world of money-saving benefits no other cards can match. And they reward you every time you use them.

CitiDollar$.℠

The bonus you earn with every purchase.

For every $100 you spend, you automatically earn 20 *CitiDollar$* to use toward the purchase of name brand merchandise from CitiDollar$ catalogs, with savings of up to 50%. There are even ways to save on travel and hotel accommodations with CitiDollar$.

Citibank cards offer you a world of high interest savings plans.

Our exclusive *CitiSavings account** works like day-to-day savings but pays you higher interest. Our *Insured Market Rate Account℠** pays high money market rates and gives you easy access to your money, which is FDIC insured.

Our innovative *Certificates of Deposit** let you lock in high interest without tying up your money. Flexible *Tax Sheltered Savings,** such as an IRA, offer you high-yield investment options while you enjoy tax breaks.

Citibank cards give you access to a world of money-saving benefits.

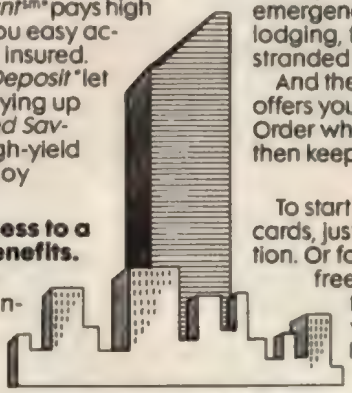
CitiPhone® by Sprint® can save you up to 50% on long-distance interstate phone calls from any pushbutton phone within the CitiPhone by Sprint network for a nominal fee.

Protection Plus,® our low cost card registration service, is an option that helps you replace your credit cards if any of them are lost or stolen. It can also provide you with emergency services and cash advances until your cards are replaced.

You get *$100,000 Common Carrier Travel Accident Insurance*** automatically every time you purchase plane, train, ship, or bus tickets with your Citibank card. You may qualify for low-cost *Group Insurance* including health, life, casualty, even auto insurance—all from leading companies—with policies that meet your individual needs and budget.

Citi$hopper,℠ a low cost computerized shopping service, can save you 30% or more on thousands of merchandise items. With low-cost *CitiWheels,* you can be reimbursed for towing, emergency road service, even emergency lodging, food and transportation if you're stranded away from home.

And there's *CitiLibrary,℠* the service that offers you a wide range of useful books. Order what you want on a free trial basis, then keep it or return it, no questions asked.



Apply Now

To start benefiting from the Citibank cards, just complete the attached application. Or for more information, call us toll-free at 800-843-0777, Monday through Saturday, 8 a.m.-6 p.m. or write to Citibank Visa/MasterCard, P.O. Box 6020, Sioux Falls, SD 57117.

CITIBANK®

IT PAYS TO USE OUR CARDS.

*Federal regulations prohibit the compounding of interest on 6 month CD's and require a substantial interest penalty for accounts closed prior to maturity. Federal banking and tax laws require substantial penalties for withdrawals from an IRA prior to age 59½.

**Your certificate of insurance will contain complete details of coverage. The cost of this insurance is paid for by Citibank with revenues derived from its credit card operation. Insurance is underwritten by Insurance Company of North America.

Copyright, Citicorp 1983. Citibank (South Dakota), N.A. Member FDIC.

A perfect Easter gift–

bringing the word of God to someone who has never read the Bible from cover to cover

WHEREVER BOOKS ARE SOLD

Reader's Digest ☆☆☆☆ BOOKS

DISTRIBUTED BY RANDOM HOUSE, INC.

ACCURACY

An accurate return means a faster refund!

A public service message from the Internal Revenue Service

Help a college student who's helping herself.

Today, the high cost of college has forced many students to work part-time. But for United Negro College Fund students, the struggle is extra hard. Half come from families earning less than $12,000 a year. Most expect little or no help from home.

That's why your help is so important. With it, we can keep tuition affordable for thousands of students like this one. Students who refuse to give up.

We're the 42 private, predominantly black colleges and universities of the United Negro College Fund. Where eager young minds study hard today, so they can make their own contributions to society tomorrow.

Help a part-time worker continue to be a full-time student. Send a check to the United Negro College Fund, Box C, 500 East 62nd St., New York, N.Y. 10021.

Give to the United Negro College Fund.

A mind is a terrible thing to waste.

Ad Council

Photographer: Frank Tedesco

©1982 United Negro College Fund, Inc.

We warm more nights than any other brandy in America.

Christian Brothers Brandy

Worldwide Distributors: Fromm and Sichel, Inc., San Francisco, California, U.S.A. Brandy. 80 Proof.

Achieve Mitsubishi in Tredia. The sedan that conquered time and space.

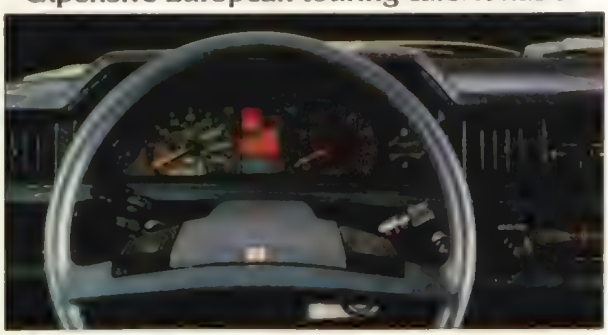
It's here. A sedan that has it all. Room and comfort. And performance, too.

The Mitsubishi Tredia.

Let's talk about space and comfort. Tredia gives you a surprising amount of room. Enough for five people. Tredia has front-wheel drive. And the transverse-mounted engine means there's more interior room to stretch out and relax. Tredia also offers a unique U-shaped rear suspension system that allows more rear leg room than you'd expect in a car this size. That same suspension system allows Tredia to have a generous trunk with almost 10 cubic feet of space.

Tredia L. Shown with optional wheels. $250 extra

Tredia gives you the kind of road-handling and quickness usually associated with more expensive European touring cars. It has a highly advanced fully independent suspension system. Up front, MacPherson struts provide handling and agility. In the rear, the U-shaped suspension system helps reduce roll and puts maximum tire tread on the road for better handling and a smoother ride.



Tredia L instrumentation

The Tredia L and LS come with a 4+4 Transmission that gives you a choice of two driving modes.

There's also an ELC Automatic Transmission for the smooth crowd.

Tredia L interior

And then you have Tredia's engine.

A 1.8 liter, 4-cylinder, MCA-Jet engine. It may be a four but it feels more like a six, thanks to a Mitsubishi Motors innovation called Dual Engine Stabilizers that helps smooth out the vibrations usually found in 4-cylinder engines.

Tredia offers exceptional value. It comes in three models. The Tredia, the Tredia L (Luxury) and the Tredia LS (Luxury Sport).

It's just a question of how plush a life you want to live.

Test drive one and see if it doesn't give you that performance sedan feeling you've missed until now.

Call (800) 447-4700 for the Mitsubishi Motors Dealer nearest you. In Illinois, call (800) 322-4400.

**$7,259*
TREDIA L**

*Manufacturer's suggested retail price for Tredia L. Actual prices set by dealers. Taxes, license, freight, options and other dealer charges extra. Prices may change without notice. Availability at dealers of vehicles with specific features may vary.

24/24 WARRANTY

Under its 1983 Limited Warranty, Mitsubishi Motors will replace or repair most components of the Power Train, which prove to be defective, for 24 months or 24,000 miles, whichever comes first. See your Mitsubishi Motors Dealer for details.

Mitsubishi takes you where you've never been before.

MITSUBISHI MOTORS

©1983 MMSA

An Exit of Necessity, with Dignity

Burford leaves, but big problems linger for EPA on the Hill

In the end, Anne Burford was surrounded. White House aides were a solid Greek chorus subtly pressuring a recalcitrant President Reagan to let go his besieged Environmental Protection Agency chief. They convinced him that she was a roadblock to settling the dispute with Congress and restoring credibility and employee morale at the battered EPA. Burford's mentor in the Administration, Interior Secretary James Watt, advised her that her support was eroding and that she should consider quitting. Finally, shortly after 3:30 p.m. on Wednesday, she received a call from Reagan Friend Joseph Coors, a Colorado brewery mogul, who had been her faithful booster. Presidential Counsellor Edwin Meese had asked Coors to break the news. Gently, Coors told Burford that the President, though with great reluctance, would accept her resignation. She immediately called Meese and said she wanted to meet with Reagan that afternoon.

Burford, known by colleagues as the Ice Queen and once described in her home state of Colorado as so tough "she could kick a bear to death with her bare feet," succumbed with quiet dignity. Her celebrated feistiness had faded under the emotional strain of seeing her agency tarred by allegations ranging from perjury and conflict of interest by her top aides, to mismanagement and political favoritism. She also faced a congressional contempt citation for invoking, on Reagan's orders, Executive privilege to withhold subpoenaed EPA documents from House subcommittees. "She had come apart at the seams personally in the past two weeks," said one White House aide. "She was scared to death about going before Congress again."

Burford conceded that the pressure was overwhelming. "It's killing me," she said tearfully. "I can't stand there and watch that agency brought to its knees." New charges had surfaced only a few hours before her resignation. Two Democratic members of Congress released EPA documents showing that Burford was warned by the agency's inspector general nearly a year ago of damaging evidence of conflict of interest against her friend and influential aide, James W. Sanderson, but did not take any action.

Reagan and Burford exchanged official letters at the White House during a bittersweet 20-minute meeting attended by Meese, Watt and Burford's new husband, Robert, a Watt aide. Reagan said he would give Burford a part-time job on a federal board or commission. At a press conference Thursday in Washington, she said: "I resigned because I feel I had become the issue, and I was very concerned that the agency and the many fine people who work there should be allowed to carry on their work."

Although she was furious at Reagan's aides, who, she complained to associates, did not have the courage to ask her to quit, Burford remained steadfastly loyal to the President. "I love that guy," she said, "and I'd be proud to serve him any place." The affection was mutual. Notoriously reluctant to cut loose loyal aides in distress, Reagan continued to insist in his press conference on Friday that Burford was a martyr hounded to resign by environmental activists and a scandal-hungry press. He called her "a far bigger person than those who have been sniping at her with unfounded charges . . . I wonder how they manage to look at themselves in the mirror in the morning." He lashed out at the Administration's environmental critics, sarcastically saying they would not be happy "until the White House looks like a bird's nest."

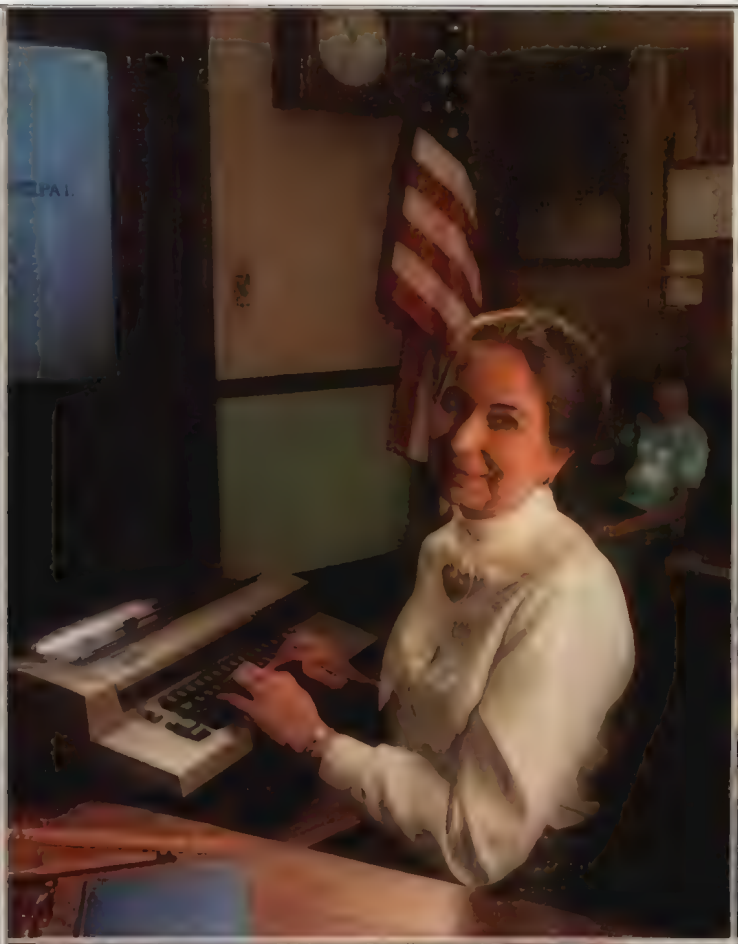
Out of the political maelstrom: the ex-EPA chief tells reporters about her resignation

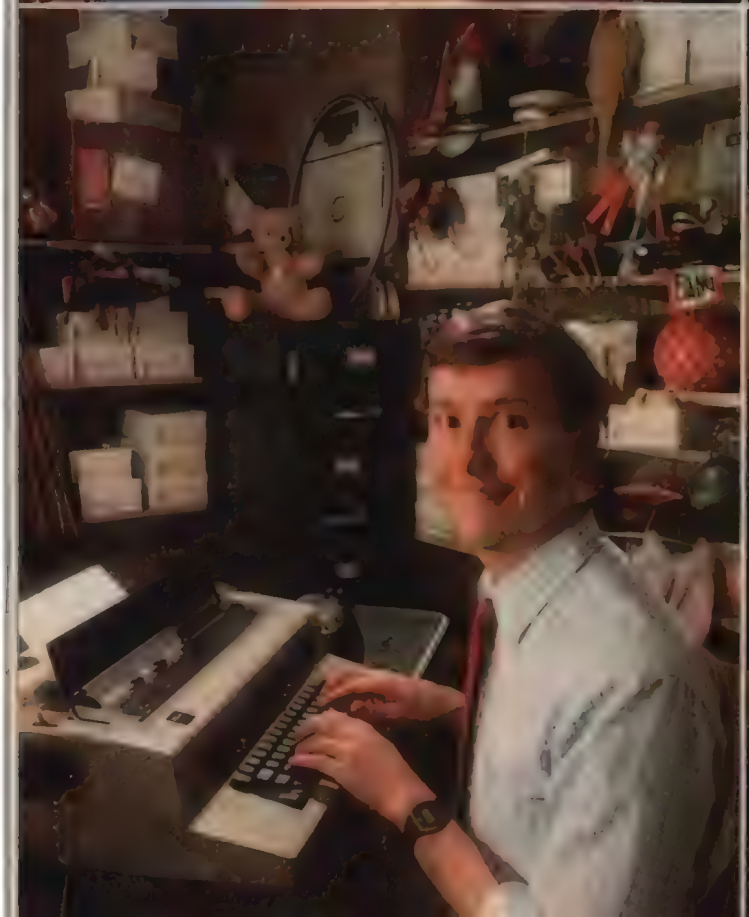
"It's killing me," she said. "I can't stand and watch that agency brought to its knees."

The White House also eased out of its other major EPA problem on Wednesday. Presidential Aide James Baker and Democratic Congressman John Dingell, who heads one of half a dozen congressional panels probing the EPA, negotiated what may be the last deal necessary on the subpoenaed documents. A capitulation on the Executive privilege issue, the agreement offers Congress free access to EPA files.

Reagan tapped John Hernandez, the EPA's deputy chief, as acting administrator and immediately began the search for a successor with extensive Government experience and bipartisan appeal. The selection may prove as important as Burford's resignation. "Her departure isn't the issue," says Democratic Congressman Mike Synar. "The management and honesty of the EPA are the issues." Democrats will have ample opportunity to score further political points. Hearings were scheduled to begin this week in Congress on tightening up the laws governing waste disposal. The scandal's repercussions are likely to affect other environmental legislation, spurring Congress to reauthorize a passel of environmental measures that have lapsed and strengthen clean-air-and-water laws this session. Says Republican Senator John Chafee, a member of the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee: "This Administration will not want to be portrayed as lukewarm on the environment any more. That is the positive fallout."

The negative fallout is that the controversy may reinforce an unflattering perception of Reagan as a stubborn, isolated President controlled by his staff. Reagan aides acknowledge that the White House seriously underestimated the intensity of public feeling about the environment, especially the concern about poisonous-waste disposal. A Washington *Post*-ABC News poll released March 5 showed that a majority of Americans believe the President would rather protect polluters than clean up the environment, and found the public nearly as critical of Reagan as of Burford. Though his aides say Reagan's environmental policy will not shift direction with a change at the top of EPA, they hope to convince the public that the Administration is serious about cleaning up toxic wastes. In a way Burford's departure raises the stakes. "Anne was taking the heat for Ronald Reagan's environmental policy," said one senior aide. "Now the heat has been transferred to Ronald Reagan." —***By Maureen Dowd. Reported by Jay Branegan and Douglas Brew/Washington***





Some of our best salespeople work for somebody else.

Most secretaries prefer IBM typewriters to any other.

In fact, secretaries have made IBM typewriters the most popular office typewriters in America.

Of course, they have their reasons.

To begin, there's the IBM Correcting Selectric® III Typewriter.

It's perfect for secretaries who pursue perfection.

The IBM Correcting Selectric III is designed so that secretaries can lift typing errors clean off the page without their fingers ever leaving the keyboard.

IBM also offers secretaries advanced electronic typewriters—including the new IBM Electronic 85.

It's perfect for secretaries who think repetitive typing is boring, tedious and dull.

The IBM Electronic 85 has a 15,500-character memory that can store and automatically retype whatever is typed in.

And because of its memory, when a secretary needs to revise a document, only the revision needs to be retyped. The typewriter types the rest.

So if you're interested in a new typewriter, consider an IBM—the one secretaries like best.

After all, the typewriter that works best for them, can also work best for you.

For additional information about IBM typewriters, call IBM Direct toll free, call your IBM representative, or stop by an IBM Product Center. And don't forget to ask about our discount programs.

IBM

Call *IBM Direct* at 1 800 631-5582 Ext. 3. In Hawaii/Alaska 1 800 526-2484 Ext. 3.
Or write to IBM, DRM, Dept. NT3, 400 Parson's Pond Drive, Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417.

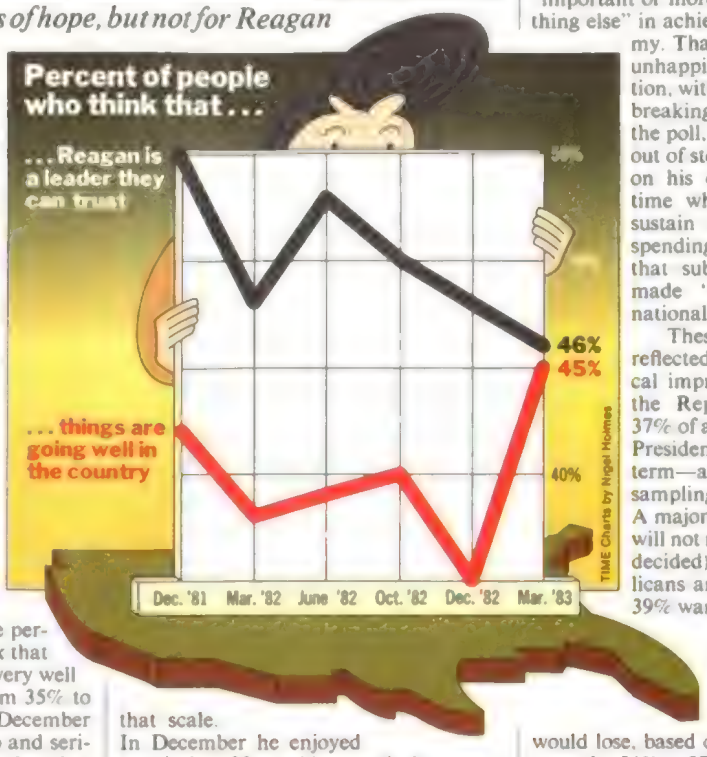
He Is Down Despite the Ups

A TIME *poll finds rays of hope, but not for Reagan*

Americans are starting to feel better about their own economic future and that of the nation too. So, by any logic, they are also looking more favorably on the performance of President Ronald Reagan, right? Wrong. The signs of an imminent economic recovery have had no effect at all on Reagan's general popularity. In fact, he is losing points with the public even as the economy improves. This is one of the surprising findings of the latest national opinion survey conducted for TIME by the research firm of Yankelovich, Skelly and White, Inc.*

Fully 50% of those polled expect their standard of living to improve materially in the next year or two, an increase of 5 percentage points since the most recent survey last December. In the same period, the percentage of Americans who think that "things are going fairly well or very well in the country" has jumped from 35% to 45%. Similarly, while 62% last December felt that "the country is in deep and serious trouble," that majority has shrunk a bit, to 58%. The state of the nation is rated good by only one-third of Americans, but that nevertheless is a step up from the 27% who felt that way in December. More specifically, 49% believe that "our economy has started to improve."

But these glimmers of a new sense of well-being have failed to polish the President's image. Only 46% of the nation's voters now consider Reagan a "leader you can trust." That is a decline from 57% in May of 1981, the highest rating in his presidency, and marks the lowest point he has reached. The percentage of people who have "doubts and reservations" about Reagan's leadership has increased from 49% in December to 52%. When voters are asked whether they have "a lot of confidence" in Reagan's ability to provide "real leadership," only 27% now respond affirmatively. There is a gender difference in this rating; while a third of all men have "a lot of confidence" in the President's leadership, only 22% of women do. Reagan has also declined in a broader measure of how Americans gauge his overall performance. When asked to judge him on a scale of 1 (poor) to 10 (excellent), only 45% of the voters place him in the upper half (6 to 10) of that scale. In December he enjoyed a majority of favorable appraisals.



The poll uncovered a number of clues behind the worries about Reagan. A formidable 70% of all registered voters with an opinion now believe that the President "represents the rich rather than the average American." That is a rise of 7 percentage points since December.

Some specific issues seem to be eroding Reagan's support. Fully 78% of the public consider a balanced federal budget "important or more important than anything else" in achieving a healthy economy. That sentiment coincides, unhappily for the Administration, with the reality of record-breaking deficits. According to the poll, Reagan runs jarringly out of step with public opinion on his defense budget. At a time when he is fighting to sustain increases in military spending, 62% of the voters say that substantial cuts can be made "without jeopardizing national security."

These critical attitudes are reflected in a number of political impressions of concern to the Republican Party. Only 37% of all voters hope that the President will seek another term—a low level identical to a sampling taken one year ago. A majority (51%) hope that he will not run again (12% are undecided). Even among Republicans and independents, only 39% want Reagan to run.

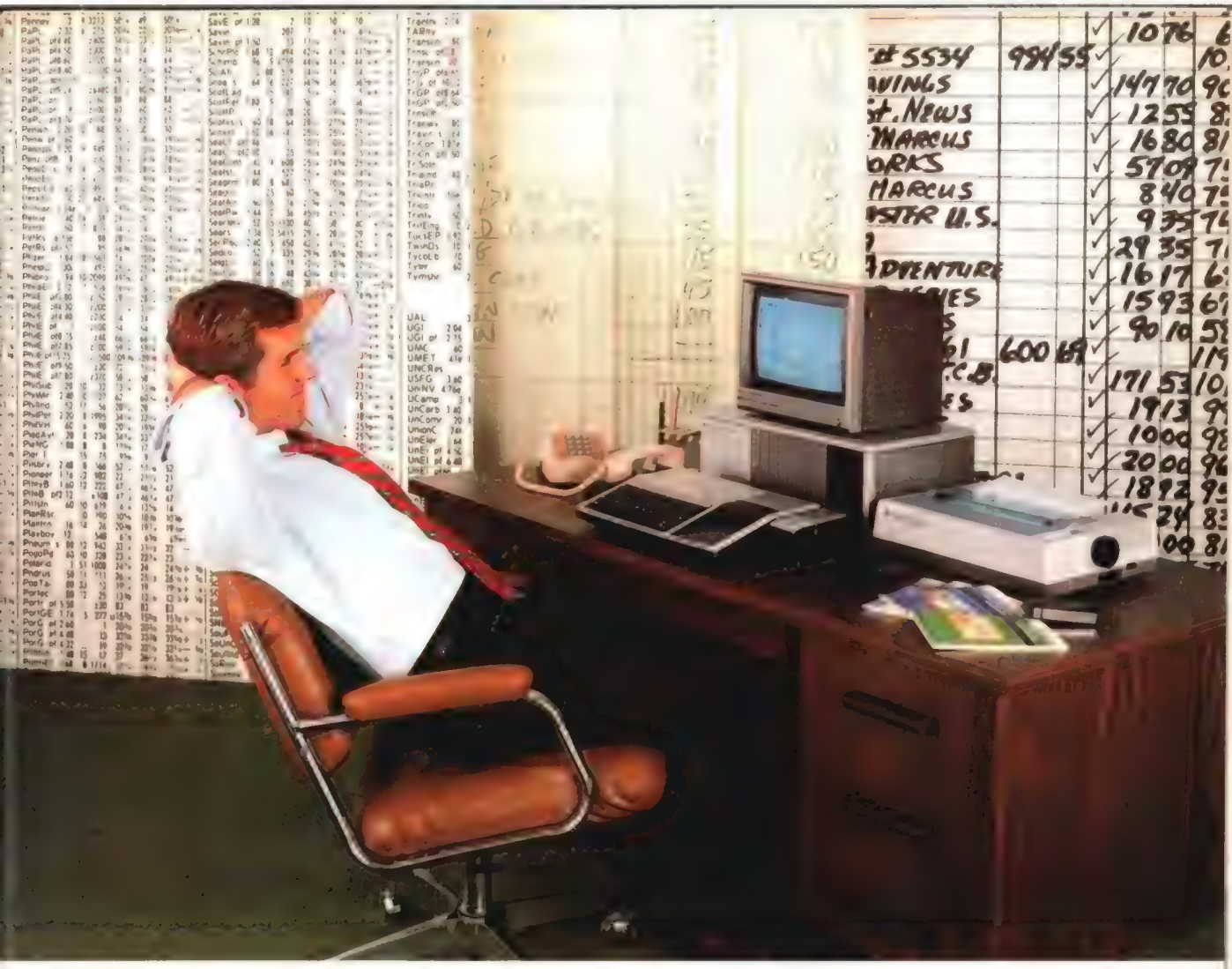
One of the least cheerful findings for Republicans was that if Reagan were to seek re-election, he would lose, based on current voter sentiment, by 54% to 27% to any "acceptable" Democrat. What a voter finds acceptable, of course, varies widely, and an unidentified candidate with such a safely neutral label is more attractive in theory than any specific Democrat likely to get the nomination.

With the President still seeking renomination, Vice President George Bush and Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker are tied at 15% each among Republicans and independents. This represents a gain of 7 percentage points by Bush since December. If Reagan withdraws from consideration, Bush would seem to gain slightly. He is preferred over Baker in such a situation, 25% to 22%. Still, that represents a surge by Baker since December, when he trailed Bush, 30% to 18%, as the preferred nominee without Reagan running.

Among Democrats, former Vice President Walter Mondale is seen as a shade stronger now than in December. His lead of 33% to 20% over Senator John Glenn, the former astronaut, has stretched to a margin of 38% to 21%. Announced Candidates Gary Hart and Alan Cranston, both Senators, trail distantly at 4% each.

In all of the latest Yankelovich findings, there may be a bit of consolation for the President. The presidential script is still unfolding, and sudden twists in plot are every bit as commonplace in Washington as they are in Hollywood. —*By Ed Magnuson*

*The survey polled 1,008 registered voters by telephone on March 1 to 3. The sampling error is plus or minus 3%. When compared with the results of previous TIME-Yankelovich polls, the potential sampling error is plus or minus 4.5%.



TI's Home Computer Software. The most management for the money.

Think of all the questions facing your family today. What if your son decides to attend a private college instead of State U? How will the economy affect your investments? The Texas Instruments 99/4A Home Computer and its information management software can give you more answers you can really use. Whatever you need, we have.

For home or personal business decisions, Microsoft® Multiplan™ has a comprehensive spreadsheet program. TI Count offers an integrated accounting system which stores, retrieves and displays valuable financial information. Personal Tax Plan from Aardvark Software, Inc. performs comprehensive tax planning calculations in seconds. You can also do word processing at home with TI Writer.

You can use TI software like Personal Record Keeping and Home Financial Decisions to keep things running smoothly. With optional equipment your TI-99/4A Home Computer can access many on-line computer information and communication services to help keep track of your real estate and securities investments. For budgets, finances, investments, TI has the program for you.

For all your personal money matters, the TI Home Computer can be your most valuable information management tool. For more details about our information management software or our broad selection of other software applications, call toll-free: (800) 858-4565.

Creating useful products and services for you.

TEXAS INSTRUMENTS

Microsoft is a registered trademark of Microsoft Corporation.
Multiplan is a trademark of Microsoft Corporation.
Copyright © 1983 Texas Instruments

EVEN FROM A COLDLY RATIONAL, STRICTLY ANALYTICAL PERSPECTIVE, IT'S BEAUTIFUL.

Observe the rounded contours. They help improve the aerodynamics of the Cougar. The hood is sloped to help slice through the wind. The integral aircraft-inspired Cougar doors are designed to create a clean, wind-efficient surface.

The formal roof line gives backseat passengers ample head room. The seats are designed for driving comfort. And the optional power seats adjust six ways to accommodate your particular height, reach, and leg length.

Get it together-buckle up.

Ergonomics? It's the science of placing things where they can be most easily reached or seen by the driver. Cougar is an excellent example of how it should be done. Including options, you can have 27 driving, comfort and entertainment controls within fourteen inches of the steering wheel.

The rear track has been increased 1.5" to give the car a wider road stance. The new Nitracushion suspension, developed from our Continental technology, helps take potholes in stride. (Our shocks are nitrogen pressurized to minimize bounce.)

And this year's Cougar can be tailored to your most personal specifications. A V-6 engine is standard, but Cougar is also available with a 5-liter V-8 engine with electronic fuel injection for extra power. Other options include functional sport seats with lumbar support that adjust to comfort even the small of the back. Full electronic instrumentation. A voice-alert system that gently warns you that the doors are ajar or that you've left your keys in the ignition. And a Tripminder™ computer that will feed back anything, from miles traveled to miles per gallon.

A car that's designed to please the eye is no longer enough. It must also please the mind. Cougar is designed to do both. Beautifully.

CALL 1-800-MERCFAX FOR ANSWERS: *For further information on Cougar, just call us toll-free at 1-800-MERCFAX. Or write: Lincoln-Mercury, P.O. Box 1254, Troy, Michigan 48099.*

MERCURY. THE SUBSTANCE SHOWS.

MERCURY COUGAR

LINCOLN-MERCURY DIVISION Ford

Bell's low weekend rates apply to any state-to-state call. For example, you can visit 20 minutes anywhere in the country for just over $4. Rates apply any time Saturday and to calls completed by 5 p.m. Sunday. Just dial direct. Different discounts apply to Alaska and Hawaii. Dial station charges apply.

This weekend, visit with faraway family and friends—and save 60%.

Reach out and touch someone.

Bell System

The Bell Weekend Visit lets you say it all for 60% less.

Heads Up!

Tomahawk tests go awry

The launch was textbook perfect. The 21-ft.-long unarmed Tomahawk cruise missile arched gracefully away a week ago Sunday from the destroyer U.S.S. *Merrill*, stationed off the California coast near San Clemente Island. It sped toward its target in Tonopah, Nev., 375 miles away but, to the chagrin of the Navy, never made it. The air-breathing projectile began behaving erratically above sparsely populated regions of Southern California and crashed harmlessly into Los Padres National Forest.

It is likely to be weeks before experts of the manufacturer, General Dynamics Corp., determine the cause of the accident. Speculation among technicians centered on possible flaws in the TERCOM onboard computer program, which is designed to keep the missile on track with the preprogrammed terrain features below. It was the fourth such accident since mid-1979 along the ten-mile-wide test-flight path, one that happens to come within ten miles of Ronald Reagan's ranch. But the Pentagon says that the test results, on the whole, are not worrisome: of the 81 Tomahawk flights so far, 61 have gone according to plan—a respectable percentage.

For the Pentagon, the spectacular 6,200-ft. peaks of Los Padres Forest provide an ideal test of the missile's ability to hug terrain, as well as an imaginary battleground over which it can execute sophisticated flying maneuvers. But occasionally Tomahawks get more public attention than desired. Horseback riders once watched in disbelief as a missile crashed just 200 yds. away. Another missile plunged into a ravine on a ranch south of Lompoc. Said the owner: "If I were a Russian, I wouldn't be too worried." The Pentagon is certain it can keep everything under control. It points out that F-4 Phantoms always fly in the vicinity of the missile as protective chase planes. In the event the Tomahawk strays from its course, the F-4 pilots can push a button and send the missile plummeting to the ground. Promises the Navy: "There is no possibility the cruise will ever crash into a city." But it still might shock the cowboys. ■

Americana

Government by Family Plan

Cuttyhunk Island (pop. 46) is a hilly, isolated spit of land off Massachusetts. Naturally, the sense of community is strong. "Everybody's involved," says A.P. Tilton. He should know. Tilton was town auditor for a decade, and has been a water commissioner and a selectman since 1961. Indeed, every resident either works for town hall or is related to somebody who does. Under such circumstances, getting a sewer pipe fixed or a pothole filled should be no problem.

But it is. A 1962 Massachusetts conflict-of-interest statute forbids awarding any municipal contract to a relative of a government employee. Violations are punishable by fines up to $1,000. To clear the air, Selectman Alan Wilder (who is also on the board of health and the planning, cemetery, police and conservation commissions) last week asked the legislature in Boston to exempt Cuttyhunk from the antinepotism provision. "You can't get anything fixed," complained Wilder.

State bureaucrats advised the islanders to cool it. They pointed out that a reform goes into effect in two weeks that should permit small towns to keep municipal work all in the family. Tilton, a retired carpenter, was unmoved: "Why don't they just leave us alone? There are just too many laws, and we get caught in the middle."

A Brahman Not Cowed

At Disney World, just to the west, animals talk and dance. At Cape Canaveral, just to the east, sophisticated guidance systems are nothing unusual. In this climate, a pregnant, two-year-old Brahman cow named Julieann last week managed to navigate at least 25 miles of unfamiliar Florida terrain and get back to her former home. "We've had dogs that have come back five miles or so," says Read Hayes, from whose ranch near Christmas, Fla., Julieann bolted, "but nothing like this."

Julieann was the least manageable of Sidney Kraftsow's 70 Brahmans. It was her terrific "craving for citrus fruit," says Kraftsow, that led her to leap over (and even limbo under) 4-ft. barbed-wire fences or bound across her 5-ft.-wide concrete cattle guard. "She was really a menace," he says. Fed up, Kraftsow sold the cow to Hayes for $350, a bargain price.

But Julieann had been away from home only a few hours when, at night in a driving rainstorm, she jumped out of her pen and over perhaps a dozen fences, crossed swamps and pastures and even swam across the Econlockhatchee River. Last Monday at dusk, 100 lbs. lighter, she arrived back at Kraftsow's. "An incredible journey," says Kraftsow.

For her trouble, Julieann was ordered back to Hayes. Says he: "Maybe motherhood will settle her down."

No Complaints About the Food, Please

A man's home is supposed to be his castle. But his dungeon? Beginning this week, ten Albuquerque lawbreakers, instead of being sentenced to jail or to a toothless probation, are obliged to stay home every night. No police sentries are stationed outside, families are not required to snitch. Rather, confinement is enforced by remote control. Strapped to the ankle of each offender (mainly drunk drivers, all nonviolent adults on work-release) is a transmitter tuned in to a device on the home telephone. The phone in turn is connected to a computer downtown. It will monitor whether the electronically shackled prisoner strays more than a few hundred yards from his telephone. "Every morning," says Michael Goss, the local businessman who developed the contraption, "we'll give the probation officer a list of all their comings and goings."

The novel Albuquerque pilot program is the doing of a local judge. Says District Attorney Steven Schiff: "It ought to make everybody happy. Like a jail term, it keeps these people inside so they don't drive drunk." The operating cost of the contraption, $70 a month, will be paid by each plugged-in prisoner. Says Goss: "I think most people would pay to stay out of jail."

Essay

A New Approach to Arms Control

By HENRY KISSINGER

To halt the strategic arms race, the former Secretary of State recommends a dramatic new approach. His plan would scrap all MIRVs starting in, say, 1990 and rely instead on a mix of mobile, single-warhead missiles. The U.S. would implement this plan even if the Soviets refused to go along

The nomination of a new director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has prompted a major Senate debate over whether the Administration is seriously committed to arms control. The controversy misses the real question: To what kind of arms control should the Administration commit itself?

So far, the controversy has focused on negotiations over deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe. But even a success in these negotiations—likely now that the German elections are over—will make only a marginal contribution to the stability of the U.S.-Soviet strategic nuclear relationship. And here we are trapped in a conceptual crisis. For too long arms control and strategy have been proceeding on separate, increasingly incompatible tracks. Technology has driven weapons procurement at the same time that it has made irrelevant the traditional doctrines of arms control. Weapons systems and arms control schemes developed in isolation from each other had to be squeezed into a more or less arbitrary framework.

This article seeks to sketch an approach by which strategy and arms control can be reconciled and strategic stability achieved by ending the disproportion between warheads and launchers that is at the heart of the current strategic instability.

THE ORIGINS OF ARMS CONTROL

The concept of arms control evolved when a growing Soviet nuclear arsenal suddenly threw into doubt the comfortable premises of the decade after World War II. It had been complacently assumed that by means of the "balance of terror," technology supplied a shortcut to security. Even after we had lost our atomic monopoly, our superiority was so crushing that in 1954 Secretary of State John Foster Dulles could still declare a policy of massive retaliation, countering Soviet aggression anywhere by the threat to devastate the Soviet Union. There was little incentive to decide a question that seemed then only esoteric: What were rational targets for the apocalyptic arsenal we were assembling?

Soviet hydrogen weapons and Sputnik foreshadowed a kind of stalemate. Once general nuclear war threatened both sides with tens of millions of casualties, the very existence of nuclear arsenals came to be perceived by many as a menace. Traditional wars had been sustained by the conviction that the consequences of defeat or surrender were worse than the costs of resistance. The nuclear specter banished that conviction. Fewer and fewer objectives seemed worth the cost or the risk.

One result has been the growing determination to stabilize and ideally to reverse the arms race by negotiated agreement. There are at least two unprecedented aspects to the *nuclear* arms race. The destructiveness of the weaponry sets an upper limit beyond which additions to destructiveness become more and more marginal. At the same time, the complex technology of the nuclear age raises the danger of an automaticity that might elude rational control. For if one side should destroy the retaliatory force of its adversary, it would be in a position to impose its terms. That prospect could tempt the intended victim to undertake a "pre-emptive" first strike—or launch its weapons on warning. Mutual fear could turn a crisis into a catastrophe. Proponents of arms control thus saw it as their immediate objective to reduce the incentives and possibilities of surprise attack.

The goal was to reduce the vulnerability of strategic forces by maintaining symmetrical numbers of strategic weapons. If neither side could hope to destroy its opponent, the incentive for surprise attack would disappear in the face of certain and intolerable retribution. So long as missiles had single warheads and airplanes needed hours to reach their targets, a surprise attack would require a vast numerical preponderance. (Even with highly accurate missiles, an attacker probably would not risk a first strike without two warheads for each target, to allow for malfunctioning, hardened targets or errors in accuracy.)

In these circumstances, numerically equal retaliatory forces were rightly conceived as adequate insurance against surprise attack. The optimum total should be large enough so that it could be overwhelmed only by a violation of the agreement too large to be hidden. Yet it should involve a ceiling that would stop the accumulation of strategic weapons. This was the intellectual basis of the arms limitation talks proposed by President Johnson and implemented by President Nixon.

During 1969 and 1970, the Nixon Administration undertook painstaking studies to determine the lowest level above which a strategically significant violation could not be concealed. The culmination was the SALT agreements of 1972. These accords severely limited antiballistic missile defenses to discourage an aggressor from believing he could launch a surprise attack and then defend against a counterblow. The agreements also froze the number of offensive missiles for five years. At that point the Soviets had a numerical edge in missiles—though not nearly enough for a surprise attack with single warheads. But this advantage was counterbalanced, first, by our very large—and growing—advantage in warheads, since only we possessed MIRVs (Multiple Independently Targetable Re-Entry Vehicles) and, second, by our insurmountable superiority both in numbers and in the technology of long-range bombers, on which there was no limitation.

The SALT agreements of 1972 might well have achieved the objective of strategic stability. But both domestic and technical factors caused the accords to become increasingly controversial. The Viet Nam War and Watergate disintegrated the political consensus behind our defense and arms control policy just when technology was undermining its strategic premises. In the cli-

Illustrations for TIME by Eugene Mihaesco

mate of collapsing confidence, groups usually associated with humane views came to advocate that the only way to keep our Government from using nuclear weapons was to deprive it of all alternatives to a strategy geared solely to the destruction of the Soviet population; never mind that the targeting of civilians guaranteed mutual annihilation. The other end of the spectrum disdained the proposition that we lived in a new world. It insisted that arms control was a trap and a delusion.

As we consumed ourselves in disputes over negotiations and weapons systems, SALT I, at first widely acclaimed, was drawn into that vortex. SALT II never emerged from it. Advocates of arms control belittled the extent to which it was being overtaken by technology. Opponents focused on the numerical "advantage" that SALT I allegedly gave the Soviets, overlooking that the agreed totals reflected exactly the level of U.S. forces the Pentagon chose long before there was any thought of arms control and that we retained a large numerical edge in warheads and airplanes.

Almost totally obscured in this debate was the reality that multiple warheads were making the traditional SALT approach obsolete. In SALT I a rough balance in the two sides' delivery vehicles substantially reduced the possibility of surprise attack. But multiple warheads—far exceeding the number of launchers—were bound to restore the advantage of the attacker, who could hope to overwhelm the opponent's fixed missile sites *even with equal numbers of missiles and warheads on both sides*. The side striking first would have an advantage—thus reviving the destabilizing danger of surprise attack. From this point of view, a "freeze" would perpetuate an inherently precarious state of affairs.

Fairness compels me to point out that the decision to proceed with MIRVs was taken by President Johnson and was made irrevocable in the Nixon Administration. We proceeded because in the climate of the Viet Nam period we were reluctant to give up the one strategic offensive program that was funded with which to counter the rapid Soviet missile force buildup; because we doubted that the Soviets could achieve accuracies to threaten our missile force in the foreseeable future; and because the Soviets ignored our hints to open the subject of a MIRV ban in the SALT talks. Whatever our reasons, there can be no doubt that the age of MIRVs has doomed the SALT approach.

The controversy over whether arms control was a boon or a trap—and some ill-considered comments on the feasibility of nuclear war—left defense policy increasingly at the mercy of the exploding public concern about the dangers of nuclear war. No democratic leader can govern any longer without demonstrating his devotion to peace. The Reagan Administration soon learned that the assault on what it called the "fatally flawed" SALT II treaty made for better campaign rhetoric than foreign policy. It compromised on the strange course of observing but not ratifying SALT II. The Administration has proclaimed its devotion to arms control, and I accept its sincerity. The challenge it faces is to resolve, finally, the intellectual problem of how to ensure strategic stability amid the revolution wrought by thousands of warheads on only hundreds of launchers.

THE PRESENT DILEMMA

There is a "flaw" in SALT II, though not the one usually discussed. It is that SALT limitations were expressed in terms of numbers of delivery vehicles at the precise moment when the increase in the accuracy and number of warheads caused numerical "equivalence" to be more and more beside the point. With each side possessing the capability (the Soviets' actual, ours latent) of making its opponent vulnerable, arms control after a decade of negotiations had returned to its starting point.

This problem cannot be solved simply by deep reductions in delivery vehicles. Given the disproportion between warheads and launchers, reductions either are irrelevant to the danger of surprise attack or, perversely, *increase* it. With present weapons, the greater the reductions, the fewer would be the targets for a first strike and the greater would be its calculability.

This is well illustrated by President Reagan's Eureka College speech of May 9, 1982, which contains the basic American proposal for the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START). It was an advance over an uncontrolled arms race because it set a ceiling. It was an advance over SALT in relating the ceiling to warheads rather than launchers. And it stressed significant mutual reductions of strategic forces. It was a brave first attempt that unfortunately did not solve the root issue of multiple warheads. Even were the Soviets to accept our proposal, the Eureka scheme would at best maintain the existing balance; it would almost surely worsen rather than ease our dangers. A quick glance at the numbers involved illustrates the problem.

Under SALT II about 5,000 Soviet land-based warheads would be aimed at 1,054 American launchers—a ratio of less than 5 to 1. The Eureka proposal would reduce the permitted warheads to 2,500 on at most 400 launchers. Even were it technically feasible to distribute warheads in this manner (and the Soviets would have to redesign their entire strategic force to do so), this would give the side striking first an advantage in warheads to targets of better than 6 to 1. And at these lower numbers of launchers an attack would be far more calculable.

The Eureka proposal would also establish limits of 2,500 to 3,000 sea-based warheads. This would force a reduction of our submarine force from the 42 permitted under SALT to 15 or fewer (depending on the type). We could keep at most ten vessels at sea at one time, *vs.* the current 25 to 30. If there are any advances in antisubmarine warfare technology, as is probable, arms control will have increased the vulnerability of both our underwater *and* our land-based strategic forces—the supreme irony. The Soviet proposal of a flat 25% reduction in launchers, while simpler, suffers from the identical disability.

In short, a negotiation begun more than a decade ago to enhance stability and reduce vulnerability is in danger of achieving the opposite. Arms control is heading for an intellectual dead end.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

We face two related tasks. First, arms control requires not so much a new proposal as a fresh concept. Second, it must become an organic part of defense policy. This requires that we return to first principles. The principal cause of instability with current weapons systems is the disproportion between warheads and launchers. All the remedies that have been tried are vulnerable to technology: hardening to accuracy, sea-based systems to advances in antisubmarine technology. There is no effective or intellectually adequate solution to this problem except to seek to eliminate multiple warheads within a fixed time, say ten years.

Fortunately technology, which creates the problem, can offer a solution. According to published literature, it is possible to develop a mobile missile that could be protected in a heavily armored canister. Its mobility alone could complicate the task of the attacker. Moreover, the new missile could—and should—be equipped with a single warhead. With strategic forces of such design, numerical limits would be both simple to establish and far more significant than under SALT II or START.

Once we decided on such an approach, we could proceed with it either as part of an arms control agreement or unilaterally as part of our defense policy. For example, we could propose to reduce and transform the strategic arsenals of both sides to a low number of single-warhead missiles over a ten-year period. The totals should be set at the lowest number that could be monitored; that is, at a level where a violation significant enough to overturn it could not be hidden. The permitted number of missiles may be as low as 500; at any rate, the number of warheads in this scheme would be only a small fraction of current totals, probably 20% or less of the Eureka scheme. Each side would be free to choose whether the permitted missiles would be mobile or in silos. Mobility would reduce the incentive of surprise attack, but equivalence

at low numbers of single-warhead missiles would, in any event, assure considerable stability.

This course does not depend on Soviet agreement. It should be pursued whatever the Soviet reaction. If they refused our proposal—this one or another embodying the same concept—the U.S. could announce that after a certain date, say 1990 (or before then if the new missile could be developed earlier), it would deploy no more MIRVed land-based intercontinental missiles but would emphasize single-warhead launchers, the majority mobile. The size of that force would be geared to the number of warheads deployed by the Soviets; we would reserve the right to match each Soviet warhead with single-warhead missiles of our own. In practice, we would almost certainly choose a lower number that we calculate could survive the maximum Soviet attack capable of being launched. The purpose would be to increase the number of targets the Soviets would have to hit but without increasing our capacity for surprise attack. We would gradually phase out our MIRVed missiles. If the Soviets agreed to a formal proposal, schedules for the mutual destruction of MIRVs would be negotiated. If they refused, we would build up single-warhead missiles to a level consonant with our security. The Soviets could always put a ceiling on our deployment by cutting the number of their warheads.

This scheme should pose no insurmountable verification problems. Fixed launchers can be detected through national technical means; existing Soviet MIRVed ICBMs could not be made mobile; development of a new mobile MIRVed ICBM would require extensive testing, which could be detected and would therefore be proscribed. Mobile single-warhead missiles would be more difficult to detect; this is why agreed numbers would have to be sufficient so that they could be exceeded only by a violation our means of detection would not miss. Obviously, the more airtight the inspection, the smaller can be the numbers. Only missiles tested *solely* with single warheads would be permitted; any tested with a MIRV warhead would be proscribed.

No one can predict how the rigid Soviet bureaucracy would react to this approach. It may upset too many vested interests. The new leadership may be too dependent on military support to challenge its military-industrial complex. Yet sometimes an impasse can be broken only by a daring departure; surely the nitpicking SALT negotiations offer little hope for the traditional approach. If the Soviets can ever be interested in stability and in easing the economic burden of the arms race, they should—probably only on second thought—study this scheme with care. Like the Eureka approach, it requires them to redesign their forces; unlike the Eureka approach, it reduces their vulnerability. And upon reflection, the Soviets must realize that, one way or another, we will cure the vulnerability of our forces and in the process will almost surely enhance the vulnerability of theirs.

If the Soviets refuse to discuss such a proposal, one of three conclusions is inescapable: a) their arms program aims for strategic superiority if not by design then by momentum; b) they believe strategic edges can be translated into political advantages; c) arms control to the Soviets is an aspect of political warfare whose aim is not reciprocal stability but unilateral advantage.

Where does this leave the MX? A presidential commission is studying that question. I will address one issue: Should we have a "counterforce" capability (an ability to strike accurately at Soviet missile silos or command centers), or should we continue to aim for "assured destruction" of civilian and industrial targets? Ever since the Soviets began to approach strategic parity, it should have been obvious that a strategy aiming at civilian destruction was an irrational, suicidal, indeed nihilistic course that no President could implement. Undiscriminating slaughter is not a defense policy but a prelude to unilateral disarmament.

Similarly, why should a Soviet counterforce capability—as now exists—be treated as consistent with strategic stability, while our attempt, represented by the MX, to provide a much smaller means to respond is considered as somehow destabilizing? If the U.S., by its abdication, guarantees the invulnerability of Soviet missile forces while the Soviets keep ours exposed, any Soviet incentive for serious negotiation will vanish. A secure Soviet first-strike capability poses an unprecedented danger—ultimately that it may some day be used, in the near term that it may increase Soviet willingness to run risks in regional crises.

Whatever level of MX deployment is recommended by the Scowcroft Commission should be strategically meaningful beyond a mere token deployment. At the same time, the MX, like the new single-warhead missile, should be an organic part of an arms-control strategy. To this end, we should offer to postpone MX deployment if the Soviets agree to destroy MIRVed SS-18s (their heavy missiles) over three years starting in 1986, and to abandon MX altogether once the SS-18s are dismantled.

This analysis has been confined to land-based missiles. Were the Soviets to show interest in the scheme outlined here, account would have to be taken of sea-based forces. Just as we cannot be asked to ratify our own vulnerability in land-based forces, the Soviets should not be expected to acquiesce in U.S. submarine-launched missiles capable of surprise attack. Specifically, as part of the agreement proposed here, we should be prepared to move to single warheads at sea as well, though over a longer period, say 15 years, because of the long lead times. In that case, the submarines would have to be made smaller and less expensive. It would be too risky to put so many eggs in one basket, as is the case with the current Trident submarines, each of which carries 24 missiles. A new regimen would be required as well for heavy bombers.

The deployment–arms control scheme would then look as follows:

A. The U.S. would make a fundamental decision to shift to single-warhead missiles as soon as possible. Ideally, this decision would be reflected in an agreed ceiling at a very low number—perhaps 500—negotiated with the Soviets. An agreement should also limit throw weight to prevent development of huge single-warhead weapons.

B. If the Soviets refused such a scheme, we would proceed unilaterally toward our goal. The final size of a single-warhead force would depend on the number of warheads in the Soviet force and on what we need to assure our invulnerability.

C. The U.S. would begin deploying MXs starting in 1986. It would be prepared to postpone deployment if, before 1986, the Soviet Union agreed to a schedule by which its SS-18s would be destroyed over a three-year period starting in 1986.

D. Both sides would also agree to dismantle the remaining land-based MIRV forces starting in 1990.

E. In that case, both sides would agree not to increase the number of warheads on MIRVs while they remain in the force.

F. Other mixes are possible. For example, a small number of MIRVed missiles and bombers, no more than 200, could be joined with a reduced single-warhead deployment, say 300.

This approach would be a serious test of Soviet intentions. It would conclusively end the danger of a first strike. It would establish clear equivalence. It would transcend the SALT and START debate and put strategy and arms control in a coherent context. If refused, it would be a clear signal of a Soviet bid for superiority; we would draw the appropriate conclusions. If we proceeded unilaterally, nevertheless, it would be a major contribution to strategic stability and U.S. security.

Of course, even the achievement of strategic stability would open up areas of concern now dormant. It would bring to the fore the pressing need to build up conventional forces to deter nonnuclear challenges. That problem would be addressed in a new environment. For all parties would know that they have taken—at last—a big step toward avoiding nuclear catastrophe. This is an imperative that humanity demands and reality imposes. ■

THE MOST AMAZING SPACE VEHICLE OF ALL.

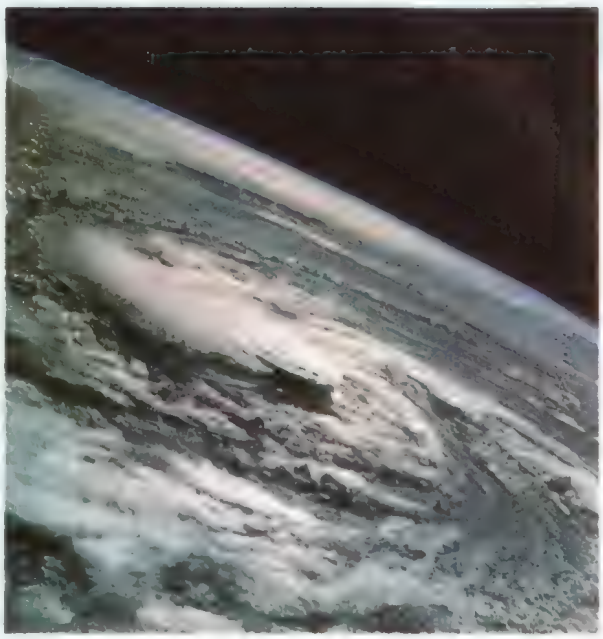
As you read this, you are hurtling through space at 67,000 miles per hour. Billions of human passengers share the ride with myriad other forms of life. The center of your space vehicle is boiling at 7,800° F.

Welcome to PLANET EARTH.

Explore this remarkable place we call home. The volumes of the PLANET EARTH library will show it to you as you have never seen it before.

You'll join cave explorers in underground realms and examine clues to the forces that shape the earth. You'll see

what gives tornadoes their freakish, random powers of destruction...why earth can remain cool on its surface and white hot at the molten center. Specially created cause-and-effect diagrams demonstrate the way glaciers move...how earth's crust rolls and folds in an earthquake. A wealth of facts, non-technical explanations and full-color photographs will give you and your family an understanding of how our planet works that few have ever enjoyed.



BEGIN A VOYAGE THAT REVEALS HOW OUR ASTONISHING PLANET WORKS.

To begin, accept Volcano for 10 days' reading with no obligation to buy it. In full-color photographs you'll watch lava flows in recent eruptions and see how past eruptions have altered the land. You'll learn why volcanic action—for all its destructiveness—may be the primal source of life-giving air and water.

Through on-the-scene photographs you'll relive the 1902 eruption of Martinique's Mount Pelée—the first eruption observed by modern science. You'll visit Hawaii to witness eruptions along the Pacific ring of fire. And you'll find a minute-by-minute

account of the still awe-inspiring explosion of Mt. St. Helens and its aftermath.

You can continue your exploration of PLANET EARTH in such volumes as Earthquake...Ice Ages (where you'll encounter wonders from earth's past like the wooly mammoth, above) Continents in Collision Underground Worlds...Solar System...sent one at a time, always for a free 10-day examination.

To share this rewarding view of our world with your family, mail the reply card today.

PLANET EARTH. EXAMINE VOLCANO FOR 10 DAYS FREE.

Each vol. Approx. 176 pages
More than 150 illustrations
Hardcover 9½" x 11⅛"

TIME LIFE BOOKS

© 1983 Time-Life Books Inc., Time & Life Bldg., Chicago, IL 60611

If card has been taken, mail coupon to:
TIME-LIFE BOOKS, Time & Life Bldg., Chicago, IL 60611

YES, Please send me Volcano and start my subscription to the PLANET EARTH series. I understand each volume costs $12.95 ($14.95 in Canada) plus shipping and handling and comes for 10 days' free examination; no minimum purchase is required; and that I may cancel at any time by notifying you. When I pay for Volcano, I will receive additional volumes shipped one about every other month. If I decide not to buy Volcano, I will return it within 10 days, my subscription will be canceled and I will be under no further obligation.

DGB6T9

Name _____
(please print)

Address _____ Apt _____

City _____

State or Province _____ Zip or Postal Code _____

All orders subject to approval

WEST GERMANY

Getting Down to Work

Kohl faces old problems and new challenges

"It's business as usual here." So said an aide to West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl last week, and in one sense it was. After a smashing election triumph, the newly affirmed leader of Western Europe's richest and most strategic nation was going out of his way to take a relaxed approach to victory. On the day following the election, Kohl's staff conference began, as usual, at 10 a.m. on the second floor of Bonn's low-slung, glass-and-steel chancellery. The Chancellor kept to his daily appointments. The biggest change in staff routine involved the drafting of replies to the congratulatory telegrams and telex messages that had poured into the building after his impressive victory.

Despite his cool attitude, Kohl, 52, had every reason to be ebullient. In an election billed as a watershed in West German history, his Christian Democratic/Christian Social Union alliance had won 48.8% of the popular vote, guaranteeing Kohl 244 seats in the country's 520-member Bundestag. Meanwhile, the Chancellor's coalition partner, the Free Democratic Party, led by Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, 55, survived a potentially fatal drop in popular esteem to win 6.9% of the vote and 34 Bundestag seats, thereby providing Kohl with a sturdy governing majority. The opposition Social Democratic Party, led by Hans-Jochen Vogel, 57, received only 38.2% and 193 seats, its worst showing since 1961. West Germany's newest political movement, the environmentalist, antinuclear Green Party, rounded out the Bundestag tally by winning 5.6% of the vote and 27 seats. The Greens are the first left-wing opposition group in the country to gain a parliamentary foothold since the Communist Party won 15 Bundestag seats in 1949.

While Kohl's elation was under careful control, a certain exuberance managed to break out in Washington. Within hours of his victory, the Chancellor received telephone congratulations from President Ronald Reagan. The President termed the election result "spectacular." He said that he had never doubted Kohl

Taking victory in stride: Chancellor Kohl at his first postelection Cabinet meeting

The biggest loser: Social Democratic Leader Vogel at a party post-mortem

would win and looked forward to working together "on the economic and security challenges which our nations face." The pair discussed the possibility of having Kohl visit Washington around the time of the May summit meeting of Western industrialized nations in Williamsburg, Va., which both leaders will attend. Most West European leaders were as pleased as Reagan with the West German results.

The burly Chancellor had successfully campaigned on a platform of traditional West German values: hard work, austerity and loyalty to the "fatherland." His job now will be to translate those verities into a painful economic program that Kohl insists will lift the country out of its worst slump since World War II. At the same time, he must thread his way through a political minefield in supporting NATO's 1979 decision to install 572 U.S. cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe. Unless there is a breakthrough in U.S.-Soviet arms negotiations in Geneva, the installation is to start at the end of this year.

Both tasks will make extraordinary demands on Kohl's resources of tact, patience and ingenuity. The difficulties will rise in direct proportion to shifts in public opinion and to the disruptive problems posed by the Greens, who have vowed to challenge West Germany's political consensus by every means at their disposal.

Kohl intends to re-establish the coalition government that he created nearly six months ago, after the Free Democrats fled their partnership with Social Democratic Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. Kohl's first order of business last week was to rebuff Franz Josef Strauss, 67, the brilliant but abrasively ambitious leader of Kohl's Bavarian-based sister party. In a "harmonious" 90-minute meeting at the Christian Democratic headquarters in Bonn, Strauss appeared to expect that the Free Democrats would be shunted aside in the coalition hierarchy and that he, and not Genscher, would be granted the dual posts of Foreign Minister and Vice Chancellor in the new government. Kohl's response: *Nein*.

That internal confrontation was only a prelude to the struggles the Chancellor faces in the months ahead. In a country where economic performance is a vital part of the national identity, Kohl won the election on pocketbook issues. Long accustomed to impressive rates of economic growth, West Germany may see an increase in industrial production of little more than one-quarter of 1% in 1983. Although the country was welcoming migrant workers from Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia and Portugal only four years ago, some 2.5 million West Germans, or more than 10% of the working population, are now unemployed. The public sector is deeply in the red: the combined federal, state and local budget deficit for 1983 is expected to exceed $31 billion. The antidote that Kohl offered on the campaign trail was a stiff dose of government austerity coupled with incentives to foster free enterprise.

To cure the country's fiscal woes, Kohl has promised a program of cutting business taxes and nibbling away at West Germany's entrenched welfare system. The cost of social programs has grown exponentially, from $15 billion in 1960 to more than $250 billion in 1982. In a near stagnant economy, the problem is becoming worse. In 1981, for example, when 1.27 million West Germans were unemployed, the federal government paid out nearly $6.7 billion in various jobless benefits. Last year the total was around $9.7 billion. Similarly, in 1970 West Germany paid out about $48 billion, or more than 16% of the country's entire output, for health care and pension schemes. In 1980 the total had reached $136 billion, or nearly 22%. Says Herbert Giersch, director of the Institute for World Economics at Kiel and a member of TIME's European Board of Economists: "The country's social welfare net needs basic structural changes. Public deficits cannot be filled with more government money, but with values like hard work, reasonable wage demands and higher productivity."

Kohl will have to move cautiously to avoid antagonizing the country's powerful and well-organized trade unions, which generally supported the Social Democratic opposition. Friction will arise if the government keeps to a 2% target ceiling on wage hikes for public-sector employees (*vs.* an inflation rate of 3.7%) and if it pushes through a full-scale reorganization of West Germany's ailing steel industry, involving an unknown number of layoffs.

Those clashes may pale in significance, however, in the tumult that could loom over Kohl's adherence to the NATO missile-deployment decision. The issue could explode well before the newly elected Bundestag begins its first session, perhaps as late as the end of April. Reason the possible behavior of the Greens, who have threatened to use "all parliamentary and extraparliamentary means available" to block the stationing of the new missiles on West German soil. Says Otto Schily, a West Berlin lawyer and newly elected Bundestag member on the Green ticket: "We believe that the stationing of missiles here is against German law. Therefore we see it as not only our right but our responsibility to carry on the fight against the missiles on every possible level."

In addition to a panoply of sit-ins, teach-ins, demonstrations and hunger strikes against the missile deployment, the Greens intend to pose an even more immediate challenge to Kohl. The group has promised to redefine the role of a West German opposition party to include breaches of government secrecy and other unspecified varieties of parliamentary obstructionism. Says Petra Kelly, one of the Greens' most outspoken leaders: "When you have a Chancellor who is more Reagan than Reagan, somebody has to make clear that Germany doesn't want those rockets."

The Greens have demanded positions

Free Democrat Genscher

Bavarian Leader Strauss: a bid to reorganize the ruling coalition hierarchy

on all major Bundestag committees, including those dealing with defense, internal security and finance. At the same time, the party has made it clear that it will leak as it sees fit any confidential documents, including those on NATO nuclear defense installations, that come into its possession. That proposed tactic drew a threat from Bundestag President Richard Stücklen to bar the Green members from sensitive committees unless they took an oath of confidentiality. The quixotic Greens have also called for a boycott of the 1983 West German national census, on the grounds that the survey constitutes an invasion of privacy.

The disruptive antics of the Greens, if they should occur, are likely to receive their most favorable response in Moscow, where the party's entry into the Bundestag was greeted by the Communist Party daily *Pravda* as "perhaps the major sensation" of the West German elections. The Soviets are still smarting from Kohl's victory. They had campaigned crudely and openly in favor of Social Democrat Vogel, who was far more ambiguous than Kohl in his approach to the NATO missile deployment, even though the decision to emplace the weapons was taken at the instigation of former Chancellor Schmidt, a Social Democrat. A French foreign affairs analyst speculates that the Soviets may now go so far as to sabotage the Geneva arms limitation talks in order to increase the disruptive pressure on Kohl from the Greens before the missiles are scheduled to arrive.

U.S. State Department officials can also see the potential pressures on Kohl that may result from the Bundestag's new seating arrangement. They recognize that a Kohl victory is not necessarily a blanket endorsement for U.S. missiles in West Germany. Says a senior State Department analyst: "The question is not whether we can deploy. We can deploy, there is no doubt about it now. But the election does not guarantee that we can do so in an orderly way." In other words, the U.S. must still demonstrate flexibility in the Geneva talks and put any onus for failure on the Soviets.

Kohl favors that approach. Despite his strong support for NATO and for the deployment of additional missiles in Western Europe if necessary, the Chancellor also knows that, according to polls taken during the campaign, nearly 60% of his citizens oppose the new weapons. Kohl has obliquely suggested that he hopes for a softening of the current U.S. bargaining position in the Geneva arms talks away from the "zero option," the offer to cancel the NATO deployment if the Soviets dismantle some 340 SS-20 missiles already in place and mostly targeted on Western Europe. Having won his electoral war, West Germany's newly endorsed Chancellor is just as keen on governing in domestic peace. *—By George Russell. Reported by Roland Flamini and John Moody/Bonn*

A Variegated Sunflower

She has an Irish name, a fighting Irish spirit, and not a drop of Irish blood. She developed her politics in the U.S. and now directs them most forcibly against America. As the attractive star of a radical "antiparty" party that disdains celebrity, she is the frequent subject of glossy articles and the constant target of photographers. Petra Kelly, 35, the feisty, fiery gamin who speaks as the uncrowned leader of the Greens, is hard to overlook.

Born to a German mother and a Polish father in Günzburg, West Germany, Petra Lehmann moved to Georgia in 1960 after her divorced mother married a U.S. colonel, John Kelly. Six years later Petra went to Washington's American University, where she majored in political science and took a crash course in grass-roots activism. On campus, Kelly distinguished herself as an enterprising and indefatigable charmer: after being bombarded by her letters, Robert Kennedy advised her about scholarships, Hubert Humphrey had a lengthy correspondence with her, and Pope Paul VI reserved five seats for her at a Vatican audience. More important, she imbibed at college the heady spirit of '60s idealism, reading Thoreau, watching Martin Luther King Jr. and rallying for civil rights.

After stopping off at the University of Amsterdam to write a master's thesis attacking the Marshall Plan, Kelly moved in 1972 to Brussels and a job at European Community headquarters that taught her, she says, about women's rights and nuclear arms. That same year, lured by what she called the "utopian hope" of former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, Kelly joined the Social Democratic Party, only to storm out in 1979 convinced that Brandt's successor, Helmut Schmidt, had betrayed the party's beliefs. Thereafter she joined the Greens, instantly becoming one of the party's brightest spokesmen and strategists.

SAMM DOHERTY

Kelly: the Greens' brightest star

Since then Kelly has devoted so many 20-hour days to the cause that last November she was hospitalized for exhaustion. At rallies she delivers passionate speeches answered by thunderous ovations; behind the scenes, she deploys a sharp Americanized intuition for catchy public relations. Thanks to Kelly, the Greens have designed such arresting effects as February's "war-crimes tribunal" in Nuremberg, where nuclear arms were convicted of being "a crime against humanity."

Kelly has imported many other tactics from the America of her youth, including an ecological concern and a belief that civil disobedience is an unassailable political weapon. The symbol she chose for the Greens, a sunflower, further suggests that the party's roots lie among the flower children. Yet because Kelly believes that the U.S. is more likely to launch a nuclear attack than the Soviet Union, she adamantly opposes U.S. foreign policies. Is she biting the hand that fed her? More likely, perhaps, linking two hands together. For Kelly thrives on eclecticism. She alternates a Bavarian inflection with an American twang, warm private gestures with eloquent public harangues. When detractors brand the Greens as a youth party, Kelly points to her colleague and frequent traveling companion, her 77-year-old grandmother.

Some of Kelly's flourishes strike observers as too rhetorical and romantic. She has been quoted as declaring, for example, that "I think they should put the code [necessary to launch a nuclear attack] in the heart of a child, so Reagan would have to tear it out to use it." Says a leading Social Democrat: "She is energetic and engaging, but a lot of what comes out of her mouth is hot air." With a seat in the Bundestag, Kelly must now prove her pragmatism and her party must deal with her celebrity, which is at once a feather in its cap and a thorn in its side. The Greens have already stipulated that all their members of parliament must rotate their seats and surrender part of their salaries to the party. But Kelly invariably compels attention. Even as the radicals celebrated their election victory, photographers mobbed her while fellow Greens, ignored, cried out their disapproval.

ERA REAL ESTATE
082290
DATE
2/27/83
AMOUNT
$ **103,800.00
DOLLARS
MR. AND MRS. ROBERT E. ELLIOTT
PAY TO THE ORDER OF
IF WE DON'T SELL YOUR HOME, WE'LL BUY IT.
When you list with ERA® Real Estate, and qualify for our Sellers Security Plan,™ we'll agree to buy your home if it hasn't sold within 210 days.*
We'll also advance you up to $100,000 on the equity in your home--before it's sold--to help you buy a new one.
Ask an ERA Real Estate Specialist near you, or call 1-800-ERA-SOLD.
We take the worry out of selling. And make buying easier.
SOLD
ERA® REAL ESTATE
SELLERS SECURITY PLAN
Neighborhood offices everywhere and independently owned and operated.
©1983 Electronic Realty Associates, Inc.
*Conditions and limitations apply. See your participating ERA Real Estate Specialist.

EMERY

WORLDWIDE

URGENT LETTER

INTRODUCING THE OVERNIGHT LETTER SPECIALLY DESIGNED TO MEET AMERICA'S MOST URGENT NEEDS.

It's the new Emery Urgent Letter. The overnight letter that lets you send up to twenty pages or four full ounces desk-to-desk across America for just eleven dollars.

Emery also gave the Urgent Letter a specially lined, full-sized nine-inch by twelve-inch envelope to ensure that your papers slide in easily and safely without folding.

The more important papers you send, the more you need the Emery Urgent Letter. Try it and find out how well it meets your most urgent overnight shipping needs.

For more information on the Emery Urgent Letter,
mail this coupon to
Emery, PO Box 4030, Woburn, MA 01888

Name _____

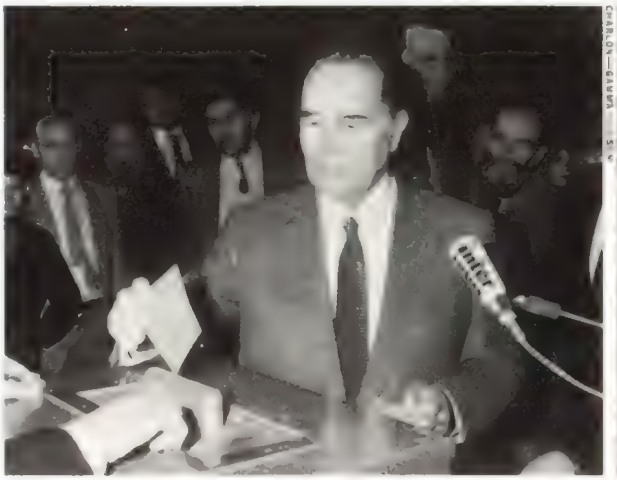
Company _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

UTM321

© Emery Worldwide 1983



President François Mitterrand's vote did not rescue a losing cause; Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac's ballot consolidated a rising challenge

FRANCE

Message for Mitterrand

In local elections, voters show displeasure with Socialist rule

Nothing seemed to go right for French President François Mitterrand last week. His Premier, Pierre Mauroy, was chased out of the annual Paris Agriculture Show by the boos of 1,000 hecklers who tossed beer cans at him and shouted, "Resign! Resign!" Army Chief of Staff General Jean Delaunay quit to protest plans to curb military spending by cutting manpower in the armed forces. But the greatest show of displeasure came from a majority of the country's 28 million voters. In the first of two rounds of balloting for municipal elections, they delivered an unambiguous message: mounting disillusionment with 22 months of Socialist rule.

All in all, French voters cast 51% of their ballots in favor of the center-right opposition, compared with only 46% for the governing Socialist-Communist alliance. It was an almost symmetrical reversal of the results that had brought Mitterrand to office in May 1981. As a result, the left stood to lose power not in 15 cities, as it had once expected, but in about 40. Conceded Jean Poperen, deputy leader of the Socialist Party: "There has been a certain setback. I don't deny it."

Held ostensibly to elect mayors and councilmen in 36,400 municipalities, the election had in fact become a referendum on the Mitterrand government. Indeed, the Socialists suffered their worst losses in large cities, where campaigning had centered not on local issues or personalities but on national policy. As the results came in, Socialist cities fell like dominoes—first the Brittany port of Brest, then the champagne capital of Reims, then the major industrial center of Nantes. The most sobering and startling of all losses was in the southeastern university town of Grenoble. There Conservative Alain Carignon trounced Socialist Hubert Dubedout, who has managed a model city for 18 years; the margin was a jolting 54% to 43%. The Communists, who have four ministers in Mitterrand's government, fared no better, losing eight cities that they had previously governed, including perfume capital Grasse and auto-manufacturing center Poissy, while retaining only three.

In Paris, meanwhile, Mayor Jacques Chirac led his neo-Gaullist party to victory in 18 of the city's 20 districts. With his well-oiled political machine running so smoothly, Chirac, 50, also boosted his chances of becoming the opposition's leading candidate in the 1988 presidential elections. Appearing before his supporters on election night, Chirac triumphantly declared, "The majority of Frenchmen have served an unequivocal warning to the government." Former President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, who campaigned for the center-right, though he was not a candidate himself, said the next day, "France is breathing easier this morning."

It was no coincidence, perhaps, that the most prominent Socialists seemed to be the least popular. Among government ministers, who often by custom hold jobs as mayors or councilmen in their own towns, eight won re-election, but five were defeated outright in the first round. Although the losers do not automatically forfeit their ministerial posts, they may be the first victims in a government reshuffle. Seven more faced embarrassing runoffs (held whenever the first round produces no clear-cut winner). Among them: Interior Minister Gaston Defferre, who has ruled Marseille as a personal fiefdom for 30 years; Finance Minister Jacques Delors, who was running in the Paris suburb of Clichy, a safe Socialist seat for 50 years; and Premier Mauroy, who has controlled the northern industrial city of Lille since 1973. In Paris the Chirac steamroller overpowered both Culture Minister Jack Lang and Socialist Leader Lionel Jospin.

The Socialists' difficulties reflected pervasive French anxiety about the economy. Unemployment is 8.9%, compared with 7.2% when Mitterrand was elected President. Inflation, which runs at 3.7% in West Germany and 4.9% in Britain, remains a stubborn 9.7% in France. And the foreign trade deficit, which reached $1.4 billion in January alone, may surpass last year's record $14 billion. As a result, the franc, which has already been devalued twice under Mitterrand, seems almost certain to be devalued again, even though the Bank of France has been spending some $150 million a week to shore up the currency. Meanwhile, the Mitterrand government's austerity program, which imposed limits on wage increases, hikes in the prices of public services, and curbs on welfare benefits, has done little more than stir resentment.

Law-and-order became another unexpectedly emotional issue during campaigning, as some rightist candidates shamelessly exploited fears that high unemployment and a rising crime rate could be blamed on immigrants, notably from North Africa. Antigovernment voting was most pronounced in Marseille, in the tough urban sprawl around Lyon, and in other such areas with large immigrant concentrations.

Although he studiously remained above the fray, Mitterrand must now address his government's problems and choose between two equally unpalatable options: increased austerity measures and expanded protectionism. Mitterrand may even decide to form an entirely new government, without those ministers who, like Mauroy, performed unimpressively in the elections. But a change in faces may not be enough. After less than two years, Mitterrand's Socialist experiment is in urgent need of direction. —*By Pico Iyer.*

Reported by Jordan Bonfante/Paris

The Italians Have A Word For

The Ghia studio in Turin, Italy, is one of the most famous automotive design studios in the world. Established in 1915, it has been influencing the way cars look since its very beginning.

Since Ghia was acquired by Ford, it's played a key role in our design plans. And as you can see, the result has been some of the most elegant and beautiful cars ever. Cars with forms that closely follow their function. Cars so aerodynamically advanced they cheat the wind and slice through it like a knife, to get superior performance and mileage.

Get it together—Buckle up.

Elegance And Style. Ford.

But perhaps the best news of all is that Ghia-influenced designs will be on their way to you. Not far in the future. But very soon.

So the next time you see an incredibly beautiful automobile rolling down the highway, and wonder what kind of car it is, chances are its name will be a lot easier to pronounce than Maserati or Lamborghini.

Ford

There's A Ford In America's Future.

THE VATICAN

"Things Must Change Here"

The Pope ends his trip with a bold call for social justice

The pilgrimage had been described as a "purely pastoral" visit. But as Pope John Paul II's eight-day trip to Central America and Haiti drew to a close last week, the dividing line between religion and politics seemed to have all but disappeared. On none of his previous 16 foreign voyages had the Pontiff so consistently called for social justice, and seldom have his words and gestures been so carefully watched. Said a Vatican official traveling with the Pope: "Even when he says Mass it seems to have political implications."

The official may have been referring to the shouting match in Nicaragua between John Paul and pro-Sandinista youths. But if the Pope had endured heckling from Marxists at the Managua Mass, he showed last week that he was no friend of anti-Communists who violate human rights. During a private meeting at Guatemala's National Palace, he chastised the President, General Efraín Ríos Montt, for executing six men, who had been convicted of subversive activity, on the eve of the papal visit. The Pontiff saved some of his strongest criticism of injustice for a Mass attended by President-for-Life Jean-Claude Duvalier in Haiti.

John Paul's visits to Guatemala, Honduras, Belize and Haiti drew enthusiastic crowds in the hundreds of thousands. Laboring well into the night, Guatemalans laid an 8½-mile carpet of colored sawdust and grass, decorated with pictures of doves and brilliant floral designs for the papal motorcade.

The Pope was welcomed coolly and correctly to Guatemala City by Ríos Montt, a fervent born-again Protestant. Ríos Montt issued a statement noting that

With Guatemalan President Ríos Montt

Praying at the tomb of Archbishop Romero

"the Guatemala we are building is based on mutual respect between the government and those governed." Speaking to a crowd of about 500,000 gathered for Mass at a military parade ground in the capital, the Pope stressed that the government still had to improve its human rights record. Said John Paul: "When you trample a man, when you violate his rights, when you commit flagrant injustices against him, when you submit him to torture, break in and kidnap him or violate his right to life, you commit a crime and a grave offense against God."

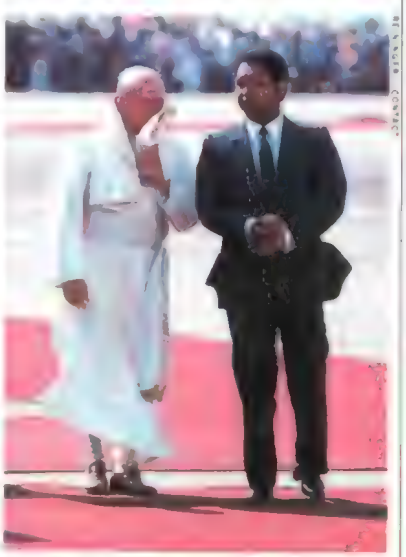
John Paul traveled by helicopter to Quezaltenango, some 100 miles northwest of the capital, for a meeting with Guatemala's Indians, hundreds of whom are believed to have been killed during the past year in a government crackdown on leftist insurgents. Demanding legislation to protect the Indians, John Paul told a crowd dressed in bright colored handwoven outfits that "the church is aware of the discrimination you suffer and the injustices you must put up with, the serious difficulties you have in defending your lands and your rights, the frequent lack of respect for your culture and customs."

In neighboring Honduras, President Roberto Suazo Córdova told John Paul in a welcoming address that "prisons for ideas and chains for thoughts do not exist." Still, the Pope used every opportunity to preach his message of justice. He told 200,000 people gathered for Mass in front of a church in Tegucigalpa built to honor the country's patron saint, the Virgin of Suyapa, that it was not possible "to invoke the Virgin as Mother while maltreating her sons." In San Pedro Sula, the country's second largest city, he urged workers in newly industrialized areas to form trade unions and called for a wage system that took account of each laborer's needs.

During a two-hour stopover in Belize, which gained full independence from Britain in 1981, John Paul addressed the problem of growing sectarian tensions in the region. The Pope reaffirmed his commitment to "Christian unity" but criticized "aggressive proselytism that disturbs and hurts, sometimes with unworthy procedures," a reference to zealous Protestant missionaries who have won converts away from the Catholic Church.

In Haiti, John Paul gave a much needed boost to church leaders who have only recently begun to speak out boldly for human rights. The Pope applauded Duvalier's decision to end government control of church appointments but condemned the unequal distribution of wealth in Haiti, the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere (per capita income: $270). He bluntly told Duvalier and the elite sitting in the stands during an outdoor Mass at Port-au-Prince's airport that they had a "serious and urgent responsibility with respect to their brothers and sisters" and publicly endorsed the slogan of Haiti's yearlong Eucharistic Congress, "Something must change here."

The Pope returned to that theme in his address to the Latin American Bishops' Conference, which was meeting in Port-au-Prince. "The poorest must have a preference in your hearts," he told the 62 assembled delegates. But he offered an important corrective to priests who have become heavily involved in politics since



John Paul and Haitian Leader Duvalier

regional bishops first spoke of the church's "option for the poor" during their 1968 conference in Medellín, Colombia. Said the Pope: "You must know and you must proclaim that such an option will not seriously be pastoral and not Christian if it is inspired by mere political or ideological criteria, if it promotes sentiments of hate and struggle among men."

There were no signs last week that the two priests serving in the Nicaraguan Cabinet would heed the Pope's call to step down from the government. Indeed, the Sandinistas tried to cast the Pope's contentious visit to Nicaragua in the best possible light. A Sandinista communiqué pointed out that even if the Pope's speeches strengthened "rightist, antipopular elements," they also offered hope to supporters of the revolution. The Holy See was not appeased. A commentator on Vatican Radio blasted the Managua shouting match as a "profanation of the sacred Mass" and a "maladroit propagandistic manipulation."

Some supporters of leftist insurgents in El Salvador complained bitterly that the Pope's words to that war-torn nation should have more forcefully come down on the side of the poor. But many Salvadorans took heart from John Paul's surprise visit to the tomb of martyred Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, who was killed while saying Mass in 1980. Moderate voices in the church praised the Pope for showing that *dialogue* was no longer a word used only by the left.

In the absence of more dramatic political developments, Vatican officials could point to this kind of subtle change of heart and mind as a vindication of John Paul's mission. They hoped that the Pope's forceful social message would rouse conservative church leaders once and for all from complacence to action. Such a committed church could indirectly contribute to tensions in the region and perhaps bring greater suffering upon itself in the cause of justice. But, as the Pope told crowds in Guatemala, there could be "no more divorce between faith and life."

As John Paul flew back to the Vatican last week, Polish Primate Jozef Cardinal Glemp announced in Rome that the Pope's next pilgrimage would be a return visit to his native Poland, beginning June 16. The official confirmation of a papal trip came amid signs that Poland's moribund independent trade union, Solidarity, was showing new signs of life. Onetime Union Leader Lech Walesa called for "protests, hunger strikes and strikes" to oppose the arrest and trial of union supporters. Shipyard workers in Gdansk, the birthplace of Solidarity, sent a letter to the Polish parliament urging that the independent union be restored. They also demanded that Gdansk be included as a stop on the Pope's tour. It was a sure sign that having traveled halfway round the world to preach peace, John Paul would soon have to delve into politics closer to home. — ***By John Kohan. Reported by Sam Allis/Guatemala City and Wilton Wynn with the Pope***

ZIMBABWE

Nkomo Goes into Exile

The government cracks down, and he flees in the night

During the past quarter-century most African countries have gained their independence, but few of their governments have found a democratic way to accommodate political opposition. In country after country, governments have grown wary of their political enemies, often for good reason, and have moved against them. At the same time, opposition parties have felt obliged to express dissent by unlawful means, and in the end many of their leaders have fled their countries. Last week that sorry chain of events was repeated in one of black Africa's more promising nations, Zimbabwe.

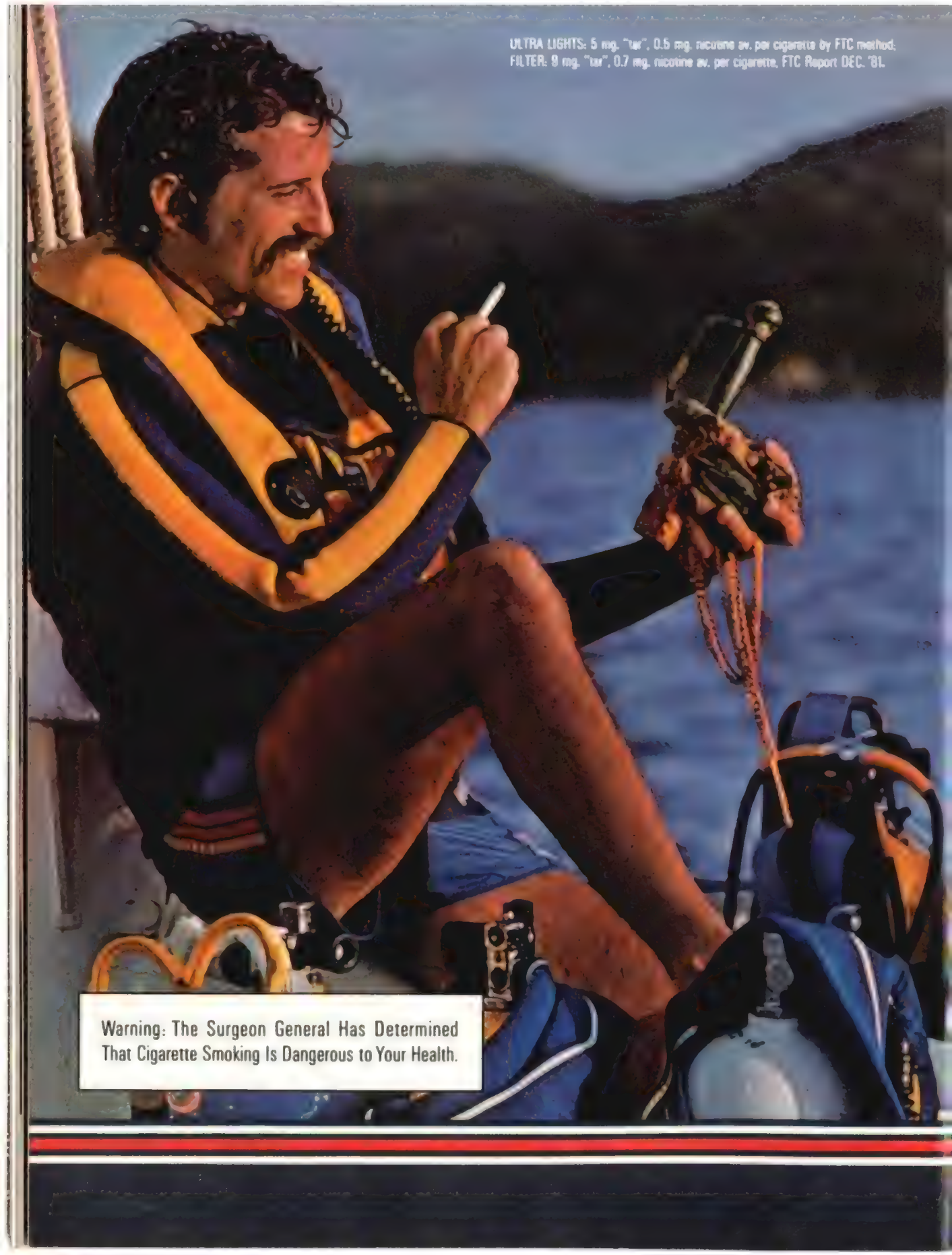
The principal characters in the drama were Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and Opposition Leader Joshua Nkomo. The two men had been comrades-in-arms in the seven-year guerrilla war against the white Rhodesian regime of Ian Smith. The partnership continued even after Mugabe, whose Shona tribal constituency makes up almost 80% of the country's population, won the preindependence elections in 1980. But it ended abruptly a year ago after the government discovered arms caches on property belonging to several of Nkomo's political allies. The government charged Nkomo's Ndebele tribesmen, who constitute about 18% of the population, with plotting a coup. The Ndebele, in turn, accused the government of intimidation and harassment. Matters have been getting worse ever since.

Two months ago, Mugabe's government sent an armed force led by the North Korean–trained Fifth Brigade into Matabeleland, the Ndebele homeland in the southwestern part of the country, to crush a rising tide of resistance and lawlessness. The soldiers, most of whom are Shona tribesmen, killed hundreds of Ndebele civilians. Two weeks ago, the Fifth Brigade moved into the suburbs of Bulawayo, the main city in Matabeleland, and conducted house-to-house searches for dissidents. The soldiers even invaded Nkomo's home, where they killed an employee and ransacked the property. That night Nkomo, who had gone into hiding before the army arrived, told reporters that the Mugabe government was trying to kill him and wipe out his party, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). Nkomo, who last month had been prevented from leaving Zimbabwe to attend a meeting of the Soviet-sponsored World Peace Council in Prague, added that he would remain in hiding but had no intention of fleeing the country.

Three days later, however, Nkomo fled. After an all-night drive in a Land Rover along bush roads, he reached the border of Botswana, where he sought temporary refuge. At week's end, Nkomo flew by private chartered aircraft to Johannesburg, where he boarded a British Airways flight to London. There was no way of telling whether his exile would prove to be temporary or permanent. In Zimbabwe, the government detained his wife and three other members of his family. Later, authorities announced that Nkomo's wife had been released on unspecified "humanitarian grounds," although the other family members remained in custody. Publicly, government officials (though not Mugabe, who was away attending the New Delhi summit conference for nonaligned nations) expressed delight that Nkomo had decided to "take the gap," the phrase usually reserved for whites leaving black-ruled Zimbabwe. Privately, they feared that Nkomo's escape would exacerbate the situation at home and further damage the country's reputation overseas. ■

Before his attempt to leave Zimbabwe a month ago, Nkomo sat at home with his bags packed

Three days after saying he had no intention of fleeing the country, he changed his mind.


ULTRA LIGHTS: 5 mg. "tar", 0.5 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.
FILTER: 9 mg. "tar", 0.7 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report DEC. '81.
Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

A rich reward.

You live in the best of all possible worlds. A world that satisfies your love for the past—and your love for the sea. You spend your days looking for sunken wrecks. Not just for treasure. But to find out how people once lived. And today...70 feet down...you discovered the past and brought it up to the present.

You're tasting success and it sure tastes good.

VANTAGE.
THE TASTE OF SUCCESS.

DIPLOMACY

A Move Toward Moderation

The nonaligned nations return to their original course

New Delhi, a stately capital even under normal circumstances, sparkled for the occasion. Signposts and road markers had been freshly whitewashed, silken banners fluttered along the main thoroughfares, and garlands of spring flowers and marigolds hung from the brick walls leading to the international conference center of Vigyan Bhavan. The elaborate preparations signaled the arrival of delegates from 101 countries, including 60 national leaders ranging from Argentina's President Reynaldo Bignone to Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. They had come to India for the first summit meeting since 1979 of nations belonging to the nonaligned movement.

Unlike earlier gatherings, which often resounded with anti-U.S. declarations that made a mockery of the movement's name, the New Delhi summit marked a return to moderation. The main reason was the influence of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi who, as the summit's host, automatically assumed the leadership from Cuban President Fidel Castro. At the last summit meeting, which took place in Havana, Castro tried, but failed, to have the conference formally recognize the Soviet Union as the natural ally of the nonaligned. In contrast, last week's meeting returned to the principle established by Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito and Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1961, when they founded the movement as an organization of nations that wanted to remain independent of the superpowers. Said a State Department official in Washington: "It's quite clear that the nonaligned movement is undergoing a process of genuine reappraisal and self-searching. There's serious concern among many members about the double standard and hypocrisy that have characterized many declarations on many issues under Cuba's leadership."

Setting the tone for the meeting, Mrs. Gandhi quoted Nehru, her father, when she said in her keynote speech: "Our policy will continue to be not only to keep aloof from alignments but to try to make friendly cooperation possible." She addressed common Third World concerns, urging "comprehensive reforms" of the international monetary and financial system, which she described as "out of date, inequitable and inadequate." Carefully avoiding any mention of the U.S. and the Soviet Union by name, she asked the two superpowers to "give up the use or threat of nuclear weapons." Mrs. Gandhi appealed to Iran and Iraq "to end their tragic war" and demanded respect for the "legitimate rights" of the Palestinians. She said that Israel was "unabashed in its aggression" and predictably named South Africa as "the other notorious outlaw." Mrs. Gandhi also asked vaguely for "early normalcy" in Afghanistan, but, in what many considered an outrageous omission, failed to mention so much as a word about the occupation of that country by some 100,000 Soviet troops.

Mrs. Gandhi welcomes Castro to New Delhi

A process of reappraisal and self-searching.

Among the more moderate forces were the leaders of Sri Lanka, Kenya, Pakistan, Singapore, Malaysia, Yugoslavia and Venezuela. Some demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, a retreat of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea, and the removal of all nuclear weapons from vessels and bases in the Indian Ocean. Said Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohammed: "The Soviet Union claims to champion the cause of the weak and the oppressed, but it had no hesitation about marching into Afghanistan to prop up an unpopular regime." Meanwhile, Cuba's Castro railed against "criminal Yankee imperialism" and new CIA plots to assassinate him, while Viet Nam's Premier Pham Van Dong attacked China for its collusion with the U.S. in a "policy of hostility" toward China's neighbors. China has never been a member of the nonaligned movement, and did not attend the meeting.

Some of the most important business took place behind the scenes. Mrs. Gandhi and Pakistani President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq, whose countries have fought three wars over the past 35 years, signed a five-year agreement on economic, scientific and cultural cooperation. Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, informed Lebanese President Amin Gemayel that he would pull his forces out of Lebanon whenever the Lebanese government requested it. (Previously, the P.L.O. had said it would withdraw only when Syrian forces did.) Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak met with Jordan's King Hussein and Arafat, who had ostracized Egypt when President Anwar Sadat signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1978.

The presence of so many kings, presidents, prime ministers and sundry poten-

Meeting P.L.O. Leader Yasser Arafat . . .

. . . Pakistan's President Zia ul-Haq . . .

. . . and Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Mugabe

Photographs for TIME by Sandro Tucci—Gamma/Liaison

BEFORE YOU TURN
THIS PAGE, FORGET
EVERYTHING
YOU KNOW ABOUT
LAWN MOWERS.
LAWN-BOY

THERE'S NEVER BEEN ANYTHING LIKE
TOTALLY REDESIGNED TO WORK WITH

You're going to find that our new Lawn-Boy mowers may be the best we've ever made. And there's good reason.

It's called ergonomics—a study that determines how machines can be designed to work more efficiently with the way the human body works.

What we've learned enabled us to build blade-control mowers for 1983 that, we feel, are easier for you to use than other blade-control mowers. Simply because we've made our controls easy to reach, comfortable to handle, simple to operate.

WE'VE BUILT IN BLADE-CONTROL, WITH ONE OF THE MOST COMFORTABLE HANDLES YOU'LL EVER GET YOUR HANDS ON.

These 1983 Lawn-Boy mowers have a control system that stops the blade within three seconds of when you take your hands from the normal operating position.

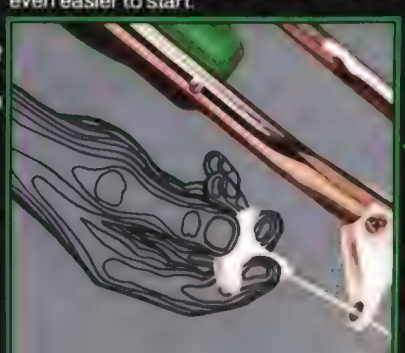
With Lawn-Boy you have a choice of three convenient, comfortable-to-use blade-control systems: manual restart, electric restart, and a blade brake clutch system that stops the blade while the engine continues to run.

There's something else that makes our Lawn-Boy blade-control systems special. They're engineered into our mowers as an integral part of the design. The result is Lawn-Boy blade-control systems operate with great efficiency and reliability.

And we invite you to try the blade-control handles on other mowers. When you do, your hands will tell you there's none as comfortable to use as ours.

WE'VE MADE LAWN-BOY EVEN EASIER TO START.

We did it by adding technical advancements to the engine, like sonic limited compression release, solid-state ignition and vented bowl carburetion. Technical terms that simply mean that our new blade-control Lawn-Boy mowers are even easier to start.



THE '83 BLADE-CONTROL LAWN-BOY. THE WAY YOUR BODY WORKS.

How about electric start mowers? We've improved those, too.

In fact, Lawn-Boy electric start blade-control mowers are so dependable that the manual starter has been removed. Our new electric start systems have a solenoid and a 12-volt battery that's the same arrangement used in cars. We also increased the alternator output so it can replace in the mower's battery the charge used in starting with minutes of running.

WE'VE ALSO ADDED OVER A DOZEN OTHER IMPROVEMENTS TO OUR '83 BLADE-CONTROL MOWERS.

Since we were committed to totally redesigning our mowers, obviously we couldn't stop with just easier starting and blade-control.

So we didn't. Handles are wider, for easy maneuvering.

We've included a high-performance blade that not only mows cleaner, but also helps bag heavy, high-moisture grass.

And our new Lawn-Boy blade-control mowers have our *Whisper Soft* muffler that makes an already quiet mower even quieter. And the muffler is built in under the mower's deck, so you cannot accidently touch something that's too hot to handle.

Our list of improvements goes on. Improvements that make our '83 blade-control mowers the best Lawn-Boy mowers ever built.

LAWN-BOY HAS A DURABLE, LONG-LASTING TWO-CYCLE ENGINE WITH PROVEN RELIABILITY.

For nearly 30 years, Lawn-Boy has manufactured two-cycle engines specifically for lawn mowers. They're American made with a well-earned reputation for dependability.

The proof?

In a side-by-side endurance test, our engine proved it's designed to last 50% longer than the four-cycle engines used on most other mowers.

And when it comes to two-cycle engines, ours are designed from experience.

For example, the most reliable crankshaft you can find on a two-cycle engine is a solid, one-piece, forged crankshaft. Ours is. It's also surrounded by precision needle bearings to help increase usable horsepower by reducing friction.

Our aluminum cylinder block is die cast around its cast iron cylinder sleeve, then carefully machined to provide cool running and long engine life.

All of this may sound like so much engineering jargon to you. But we feel the terms used are ones you should know about and ask about when considering a mower with a two-cycle engine. The reason? They stand for improvements that our 30 years of experience have proven to work best in lawn mower engines.

So, a mower with a better engine, easier starting, easier maneuvering, greater dependability than any Lawn-Boy ever made; a mower that ergonomics helped redesign from the grass up; a mower that's backed by trained service dealers.

What does it all mean?

That there's never been a mower quite like the '83 blade-control Lawn-Boy.

Buy yours, and as time goes by, you'll know why.

FOR 1983, THERE'S A BIGGER SELECTION FROM LAWN-BOY TO BETTER FIT YOUR MOWING NEEDS.

SUPREME—This top of the line gives you the versatility of a mower that lets you side discharge, side bag, rear bag, Mow-N-Mulch™ and shred leaves with the addition of optional accessories. Plus, it gives you the choice of push or self propelled, 19 or 21-in. widths, blade-control systems and a unique mower deck design. Shown is the 21-in. self propelled side bagger with the clutch system.

COMPACT SUPREME REAR BAGGER—This 20-in. manual restart mower is new to the Lawn-Boy Supreme line. It has a big, easy-to-empty bag that fits between the handles, so the mower can trim close on either side. It's ideal for rear bagging.

MULCH-R-CATCH®—It's a rear bagger. Or it's a bagless mower. This mower has a patented deep orbital chamber deck that mows clippings so fine you don't have to bag them. And the Mulch-R-Catch quickly converts from a bagging mower to a mulching mower without tools. Shown is the 21-in. self propelled with electric start.

DIAL TOLL FREE-1-800 LB MOWER
(1-800-526-6937)

for name of your nearest Lawn-Boy dealers. Please be prepared to give your zip code number.

$30* **SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER! worth of free accessories with the purchase of a new Lawn-Boy Supreme or Mulch-R-Catch® mower.**

Present this coupon when you purchase a new Lawn-Boy Supreme or Mulch-R-Catch mower at the regular price. Participating Lawn-Boy dealers will give you $30 worth of Lawn-Boy accessories of your choice. Or ask your dealer for the terms and duration of his offer. Offer not valid with the purchase of any other Lawn-Boy models. **Offer Expires: June 30, 1983.**

Clip and present to participating dealer at time of purchase.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

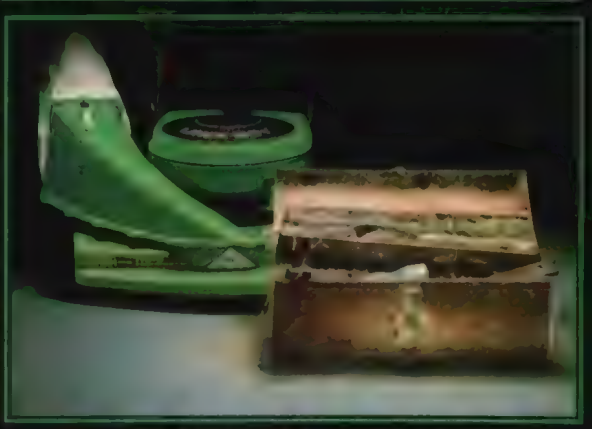
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

PARTICIPATING DEALER _____

Model Purchased ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐ Serial No. ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Date _____

Purchase required. Expires 6/30/83. Offer may not be available in conjunction with other promotions. Ask your dealer for details.
*Manufacturer's suggested list price.



LAWN-BOY®

As time goes by, you'll know why.

Lawn-Boy, A Product Group of Outboard Marine Corporation, Galesburg, Illinois 61401. © Outboard Marine Corporation, 1983. All rights reserved. Printed in USA. Lawn-Boy mowers comply with the Consumer Product Safety Commission safety standards for walk behind power lawn mowers. Plus, Lawn-Boy mowers display the Outdoor Power Equipment seal, signifying Lawn-Boy mowers voluntarily meet or exceed the current ANSI B71.1 safety standards for rotary mowers.

tates presented the Indians with a security nightmare. To forestall violence or the danger of terrorist attacks, the government had posted battalions of army troops, equipped with machine guns deftly concealed behind flowers, at key intersections throughout the city. At the last minute, Libya's erratic Colonel Muammar Gaddafi abandoned an elaborate scheme to fly into the city in a trio of Learjets, two of them decoys in case someone should try to shoot him down, and stayed home. So did Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, who had been scheduled to be host at the nonaligned summit in Baghdad last September until his country's war with Iran forced the change in venue. There were a few jittery moments when 200 Iraqi bodyguards carrying AK-47s landed at the airport, but Indian security men disarmed them of the rifles.

At week's end the delegates passed an Indian-sponsored resolution that called for the withdrawal of "foreign troops" from Afghanistan and full respect for the country's "independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and nonaligned status." The document did not mention the Soviet Union by name. The other resolutions adopted unanimously included a series of economic proposals intended to promote greater regional cooperation and to strengthen the nonaligned countries' bargaining position with the developed world. The delegates came out strongly for nuclear disarmament, which they called "an issue of human survival," and rejected the use of atomic weapons under any circumstances.

Reversing their one-sided attitude at Havana, the nonaligned nations chastised both the U.S. and the Soviet Union for contributing to tension in the Indian Ocean. But then, for the first time, they supported claims by the tiny Indian Ocean island of Mauritius to sovereignty over the British-owned island of Diego Garcia, 1,300 miles away, which the U.S. has leased for a vital nuclear base. They called for a "war crimes tribunal" to try Israel for its treatment of Palestinians, but, in a display of the double standard that all too often applies at such conferences, they made no mention of widespread human rights abuses in many of the nonaligned countries.

The U.S. was pleased, however, that the resolution on Central America turned out to be more moderate than expected. It stated that the region's problems could not be attributed to ideological confrontation between East and West and urged Washington to adopt "a constructive position which would contribute to the peaceful solution of the problem." Said an American diplomat in New Delhi: "Mrs. Gandhi's influence is already being felt." Even if everything that was said in New Delhi did not please the U.S., the diversity of voices was an auspicious sign that nonalignment as an idea is not dead. —*By Marguerite Johnson. Reported by Dean Brelis/New Delhi*

OPEC

Emperors with No Clothes

Prices dip, and the market shows who rules the oil trade

In an eighth-floor suite of London's Hotel Inter-Continental overlooking Buckingham Palace, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries last week struggled for its survival as the premier power in world oil markets. Said Algeria's Energy Minister, Belkacem Nabi: "We all recognize that this is a very important meeting, unique in the history of OPEC." A global oil glut has driven the spot price for Saudi Light crude to about $28 per bbl. That is well under OPEC's official benchmark price of $34 per bbl. but not low enough to suit refiners, who in the U.S., for example, are able to sell what they can make from a barrel for only $26 to $27. As delegates from the 13 member nations harangued, haggled and tried to hammer out a scheme of prices and production quotas that would stabilize the market, Venezuela's Humberto Calderón Berti warned, "If we start fighting, all of us, the price will go down to $20 a barrel."

Even as the negotiations dragged on, the downward squeeze on oil prices grew increasingly intense. The Soviet Union lowered the price of its crude exports to Western European customers by $1.25 per bbl., to $28, the second cut in six weeks. British Petroleum, one of the companies that pump Britain's oil, added to the pressure on OPEC by arguing that North Sea crude should be priced at least 75¢ per bbl. lower than Nigeria's high-quality Bonny Light. North Sea oil now sells for $30.50, higher than the Nigerian price of $30 that was set last month when Nigeria became the first OPEC nation to break ranks and formally cut prices. British Petroleum's view suggests that a cut of more than $1 may be in the works for North Sea oil. Yet Nigeria has pledged to match any North Sea cut "cent for cent." Any such price war could set off a downward spiral.

The discussions in London revolved as much around questions of production as questions of price. OPEC production has dropped dramatically, probably below levels that are politically and economically feasible for most of the group's members. In 1977 OPEC nations were pumping at a rate of 31.3 million bbl. a day. Now production has dropped to only about 14 million bbl., and in spite of that the market remains squishy. Saudi Arabia has taken the brunt of the cutbacks. Its production is currently only 3.3 million bbl. a day, roughly a third of its rate of 9.6 million bbl. a day in 1981. The keepers of the kingdom's finances are unwilling to go lower, or even remain this low for much longer.

Saudi Arabia's Yamani and Iran's Gharazi: haranguing and haggling over production quotas

A proposal by Algeria and Venezuela was rejected because "Everyone would cheat."

The connection between price and supply was painfully obvious to all the OPEC members. High production levels will only push prices still lower. With this in mind, Algeria and Venezuela proposed making 14 million bbl. the ceiling for OPEC producers and dropping the official price only slightly, to $32. But most members were hoping for a consensus closer to 17.5 million bbl. of production and a new benchmark price of $29. Saudi Oil Minister Sheik Ahmed Zaki Yamani, realizing that the burden of a low production quota will fall on his country, rejected the proposal by Algeria and Venezuela with the comment: "Everyone would cheat."

Recent OPEC history supports Yamani. A year ago, the group agreed to a production ceiling of 18 million bbl. a day. Before long, however, Algeria, Nigeria, Libya, Venezuela and Iran were all exceeding their quotas.

Last week the Venezuelans were offered an allotment of 1.6 million bbl. a day, but they wanted 1.8 million. Burdened by a huge foreign debt, Venezuela needs higher oil output to help the country keep up interest payments. The Iranians were totally unrealistic. They demanded that archrival Saudi Arabia lower its output by nearly 10% to 3 million bbl. a day, while Iran be allowed to raise production to match that level. Iran, which is currently exporting only 1.5 million bbl. a day, is desperate to raise money for its continuing war with Iraq, another OPEC member. The threat of Iraqi air raids against the main Iranian shipping terminal at Kharg Island has helped cut Iran's exports by 1 million in the past month.

Iran's representative to OPEC, Mohammed Gharazi, was easily the most obstreperous delegate in London last week. He proclaimed that his country would "never, never, never" agree to a reduction in the official OPEC price, a transparently hypocritical stance. For months Iran had been offering discount prices, sometimes as low as $26, in hopes of boosting production. The Iranians fear that if the benchmark price were slashed, they would have to offer even deeper discounts to maintain sales. In the face of a deadlock on the pricing issue, some ministers began talking openly of an unprecedented move: reaching a majority agreement that left out Iran. Such a step would break with OPEC's tradition of making every decision unanimous. It would also openly demonstrate a lack of the cohesion needed to manage the oil markets. At week's end Gharazi appeared to have conceded that the new official price would be $29.

As OPEC deliberated, government officials around the world cheered the prospect of a moderate drop in oil prices. But they also pondered the possible dangers of an all-out oil price war. In the U.S., Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker was concerned that a precipitous drop in prices might increase the already alarming U.S. budget deficit by cutting receipts from the windfall profits tax on oil. If that happened, he suggested, Congress should consider imposing a new oil tax.

At its weekly meeting, the Brussels-based European Commission called for talks among the industrial nations to consider setting up a "security net" to minimize the impact of a sharp decline in oil prices. Such an arrangement could conceivably include an increase in energy taxes throughout the West to hold down consumption.

Whether or not OPEC can achieve an agreement, it appeared last week that the group has lost whatever control it had over world oil markets. As the London *Times* proclaimed, "OPEC has no clothes." The mighty ministers who once ruled the market now have no choice but to obey it. ***—By Charles P. Alexander. Reported by Lawrence Malkin/London and Bruce van Voorst/New York***

SWITZERLAND

Sheik Down

How to lose $14 million

Libyan Dictator Muammar Gaddafi may have wanted to acquire nuclear technology. Lebanese Businessman Anthony Tannoury seemed anxious to make a lot of quick bucks. Neither succeeded, but those were the elements of what seems to have been an unusually audacious swindle.

The intrigue began when Tannoury, 37, a Paris-based entrepreneur, told Saudi Sheik Mezan Pharaon that Gaddafi had offered $1 billion to anyone who could supply certain "strategic materials," presumably parts for an atomic reactor. Tannoury said he could obtain the materials through Venezuelan associates, but that he first needed to come up with a $33 million down payment. For approximately $14 million in cash, Tannoury said, Pharaon could share in the profits of the operation. A short while later, the sheik gave Tannoury the $14 million.

RALPH CRANE

Lebanese Businessman Anthony Tannoury

Accusations about an audacious swindle.

A few weeks later, Tannoury approached Pharaon again, explaining that the Venezuelans had demanded more money. At that point, Philippe Espitalier, a French adviser to Pharaon, became suspicious and cautioned him to pay no more money and to obtain collateral for the $14 million. It was too late. Tannoury returned with news that the Venezuelans had pulled out of the deal, and that he and Pharaon had lost their $33 million down payment.

Pharaon persuaded Swiss authorities to file a criminal indictment for fraud against Tannoury. Pharaon's advisers suspect that the Gaddafi "offer" and the Venezuelan connection were a hoax. Moreover, they believe Tannoury probably never matched Pharaon's investment and may have simply pocketed the sheik's $14 million.

Tannoury insisted to TIME last week that the Libyan offer was genuine. He admitted that he "has made an arrangement" to pay Pharaon at least $14 million, which would seem to cover the sheik's investment. The dispute, Tannoury claimed, had resulted only from a misunderstanding between his and Pharaon's subordinates. Pharaon was not talking, and last week his lawyers said that he would not press legal charges against Tannoury. The victim seemed as worried about his reputation as his money, and with good reason. His brother Ghaith is a prominent Middle Eastern financier, and their father Rashad is a senior adviser to King Fahd of Saudi Arabia. ■

SOUTH AFRICA

Shaken Up

How to lose an oil tanker

It took three years, but the South African public finally learned in some detail last week how its government lost $30.5 million in what has been called the biggest maritime fraud in history. The disclosures were made during a three-hour parliamentary debate in Cape Town, after which the government of Prime Minister P.W. Botha tried to prevent both its critics and the press from discussing the matter any further. Its grounds: all information concerning South African purchases of oil, which are in contravention of a world embargo designed to block such sales, is a state secret.

The case involved the supertanker *Salem*, registered in Liberia, which offloaded 180,000 metric tons of Kuwaiti oil at the South African port of Durban in late December 1979. In Parliament last week, the South African government acknowledged that it had paid $45 million for the oil. The ship then sailed for Europe but sank mysteriously in the Atlantic off the coast of Senegal on Jan. 17, 1980. The trouble was that the cargo it had left in Durban had actually been owned all along by the Shell International trading company, and the *Salem* was supposed to have been carrying it to the Italian port of Genoa. As soon as it became known that the *Salem's* cargo had in effect been sold twice, there were allegations that the tanker had been scuttled to hide that fact. The South African government revealed to Parliament last week that it had subsequently paid an additional $30.5 million to Shell in partial compensation for the loss.

Nobody involved in the case has yet been convicted of any crime, although arrest warrants were issued in 1980 in Britain for four men, including the Lebanese American owner and the Greek skipper of the *Salem*. The South African government has no intention of pressing the matter. After all, explains Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs P.T.C. Du Plessis, South Africa operates in the world petroleum market under "extremely unfavorable conditions." And besides, he contends, the buying of crude oil, even under ordinary circumstances, is "always risky." ■

WIN A POTHOLE FULL OF DOUGH FROM MONROE.

The Bump Stops Here Sweepstakes.

Whoever thought those annoying, troublesome potholes could bring you $10,000 in cash?

Well, they can during "The Bump Stops Here" Sweepstakes from Monroe.

It's easy to enter. And easy to win. Just stop at any participating Monroe retailer, fill out the entry form and mail it in.* That's it. There's no obligation . . . nothing to buy.

WIN UP TO $10,000

You could then win the Grand Prize of $10,000. Or one of the three second prizes of $1,000.

And while you're at your Monroe retailer, ask him about his colorful Bump Stops Here T-shirts. They're a fun way to tell the world you've had it with America's roads. And don't forget to ask about the Monroe Gas-Matic® shock. Its low-pressure gas charging design works like a cushion against bumps, tarstrips and other small car road hazards. So stop at your participating Monroe retailer today. You'll get a better ride in your small car. Plus, a chance to win $10,000.

Small Car America Rides Monroe.

*Or, print your name and address on a plain piece of 3x5 paper. No mechanically reproduced entries accepted. Enter as often as you wish. Each entry must be mailed separately. Mail it to: Monroe "The Bump Stops Here" Sweepstakes, P.O. Box 7, NY, NY 10046. Entries must be postmarked by midnight, 7/31/83, and received by 8/12/83. You must be 18 years or older to enter.

THE BUMP STOPS HERE.

MONROE

Monroe Auto Equipment

Getting set to tape a TV commercial at an assembly plant in Detroit: "You can go with us or you can go with someone else—and take your chances"

Economy & Business

COVER STORY

Iacocca's Tightrope Act

With brains, bluster and bravado, the boss struggles to salvage Chrysler

Frank Sinatra. John Houseman. Joe Garagiola. Ricardo Montalban. Chrysler Corp. has hired all of them to tout its cars on television. But the company's premier pitchman is a slightly paunchy, slightly balding 58-year-old who happens to be on the permanent payroll: Chairman Lido Anthony ("Lee") Iacocca. "You can go with Chrysler," he booms into the camera, "or you can go with someone else—and take your chances."

Iacocca, the son of Italian immigrants, is fighting for his corporation's life, and growing numbers of viewers seem to be buying his act. Says Abe Gurewitz, 54, a Brooklyn cab driver: "I saw him on TV and I like the guy. He's turning around a company that was down the drain. He has guts." Nor has Iacocca's commercial charisma escaped notice by Wall Street's savviest auto analyst, Maryann Keller of Paine Webber Mitchell Hutchins. Says she: "I wouldn't doubt that people have bought Chrysler cars just because they wanted Lee Iacocca to make it."

Incredibly, it is beginning to look as if he might. Five years ago, Iacocca was president of Ford Motor Co., and Chrysler's profits were about to careen off a cliff. In November 1978, four months after he got the ax at Ford, Iacocca joined Chrysler as president. From that year through 1981, the company lost nearly $3.5 billion, easily the biggest bloodbath by any American company in history. In 1979, the company was so close to bankruptcy that only an act of Congress saved it, and despite the bailout, Chrysler has almost collapsed several times since. It is therefore something of a modern management miracle that last month Iacocca was able to announce that his company had actually made a profit in 1982

True, it was a small profit, only $170 million on sales of $10 billion, and it came mostly from the sale of the tank division, not from making cars. Yet no one denies that Chrysler's progress has been prodigious. Had not a debilitating five-week strike last fall in highly profitable Canadian plants crippled operations, Chrysler would have eked out a profit in the auto business. More astonishing, the once cash-starved company now has a cash hoard of $900 million. Wall Street has halted its death watch: last year Chrysler's shares more than quintupled in price, from 3⅜ to 17¾. It was the second best 1982 showing of any stock on the New York Stock Exchange, surpassed only by Coleco Industries' rise from 6⅞ to 36¾

Chrysler's recovery is largely Iacocca's doing, a triumph of brains, bluster and bravado. When the company needed money and the banks dithered, he threatened to go into bankruptcy. When he needed pay cuts and the union protested, he warned that he would shut plants. When Chrysler could not pay its bills, he persuaded suppliers to be patient. It now seems a plausible bet—not yet even money but not 100 to 1 either—that Iacocca's company will survive as No. 3 against its behemoth competitors, General Motors and Ford, and occasionally even threaten them. Of course, the tougher battle is the

Photographs for TIME BY Ted Tha

Rousing dealers in Las Vegas: "If you only talk cars, people say you're a provincial son of a bitch. If you're outspoken, then you're running for office"

one that all U.S. carmakers are in together: turning back the competition from Japanese and other foreign automobile companies, who drove off with a record 28% of the market last year.

Iacocca blames this miserable state of affairs in part on past failures by the U.S. industry's leaders, including himself, and with characteristic brashness he predicts that Chrysler, though possibly not its U.S. competitors, will conquer. He proclaims, "I was arrogant, but GM made a science of goddam arrogance. I think the Townsends of this world,* the Henry Ford IIs and some of the GM chairmen wrecked this industry. That arrogance should be gone now. We got our comeuppance. If GM and Ford keep thinking that way, we'll run over them. If they had been on the ball, I don't think we'd have made it. So who wants to wake them up?"

Although Iacocca's company is only one-sixth the size of GM in terms of revenue and less than a third as big as Ford, that kind of talk has made him easily the auto industry's best-known figure. A Gallup poll of heads of small- and medium-size businesses earlier this year found Iacocca the U.S. business executive they respected most. He got 27 times the number of votes of the runner-up, Frank Cary, who retired last month as chairman of International Business Machines Corp.

A few red-white-and-blue bumper stickers have even sprouted declaring IACOCCA FOR PRESIDENT. Preposterous? Yes, preposterous. Iacocca greatly enjoys the sound of his own voice and often pontificates on political and economic matters, especially as they affect Chrysler. But friends say he does not have the patience for politics, and he concurs. "I'm not interested," he says, and then, as if to explain how the stories start: "If you only talk cars, people say you're a provincial son of a bitch. If you're outspoken, then they say you are running for office." Quips Publisher Keith Crane of *Automotive News:* "Hell, Lee doesn't want to be President; he wants to be appointed Pope."

It is easy to dismiss Iacocca as just another supersalesman because he is so good at it. He exudes confidence and conviction: well-tailored clothes, big cigar, self-satisfied smile. But Iacocca has proved he is a remarkable manager as well. He has a knack for getting the most out of people, for making them do more than they think they can. Says St. Louis Plant Manager John Burkart: "All of us at Chrysler believe in the man. I worship the guy." Vince Williams, a Portland, Ore., auto salesman, says he decided to open a Dodge dealership rather than a Pontiac outlet just because of Iacocca.

The boss is by turns charming and demanding. Extremely demanding. His edict to top managers: "I don't need a $100 million mistake. Try to make it a $5 million mistake if you have to make one." Investment Banker Felix Rohatyn, who helped rescue New York City from insolvency in 1975, sums it up: "Lee is a man who can instill leadership in a crisis. He knows his business from front bumpers to back ends. He is the right man at the right time."

Keeping Chrysler alive has been a wrenching process. Iacocca has effectively cut the company almost in half. Of its 52 plants, he has closed 16. Overseas operations and unrelated businesses were auctioned off to raise cash. Five years ago, Chrysler had 157,000 employees; today there are 74,700. In the past three years its costs for wages and salaries have been slashed from $2.1 billion to $1.5 billion. Once the world's sixth largest automaker, Chrysler now ranks twelfth.* In Detroit, where the man in charge was briefly known as "Ayatullah" Iacocca, there are dozens of eerily silent rooms with long rows of empty desks at company headquarters.

The smaller, slimmer Chrysler can make a profit selling only 1.2 million vehicles instead of the 2.3 million required in 1980, a big advantage in tough economic times. But this transmogrification is not without huge risks. The company can no longer compete across the board with GM and Ford by building car models in every size and price category. It remains burdened by $2 billion in long-term debt. If it should falter ever so slightly, it could again be plunged into a financial abyss. Says GM Chairman Roger Smith: "The jury is still out on Chrysler. It all depends on the product they introduce and whether they can sell it."

Nothing would derail Chrysler's recovery more effectively than a continuation of the disease that has afflicted De-

*Lynn Townsend was Chrysler chairman from 1967 to 1975.

*Ranked by cars and trucks produced in 1981, the 15 largest vehicle manufacturers in the world are: GM, 6,240,380; Ford, 3,730,319; Toyota, 3,220,418; Nissan, 3,100,968; Volkswagen-Audi, 2,210,666; Renault, 1,810,365; Peugeot-Citroën-Talbot, 1,593,943; Fiat, 1,209,819; Toyo Kogyo (Mazda), 1,176,608; Mitsubishi, 1,094,793; Honda, 1,008,927; Chrysler, 1,002,464; Lada (U.S.S.R.), 830,000; Daimler-Benz, 712,315; Suzuki, 578,876.

Celebrating expansion at a St. Louis plant with Ronald Reagan and Manager John Burkart

troit for three years: sickly sales. Last year U.S. manufacturers sold only 5.8 million cars, the fewest in 21 years; Chrysler sold 794,000, but its share of the American market inched up, to 10%. So far this year the industry is doing only slightly better. Through February, sales were running at an annual rate of 6 million cars. All of the Big Three are offering customers cut-rate financing of 11.9% in an effort to spur sales. Chrysler's decision last month to cut prices by offering rebates of $300 to $1,000 to cash buyers is expected to set off another round of price competition, one that manufacturers say they can ill afford.

U.S. sales of Japanese-made cars were 1.8 million last year, and are not increasing, thanks to Tokyo's recent acceptance of a third year of "voluntary" import restrictions. Although Detroit is at last beginning to approach the Japanese on quality, evidence suggests that an extra twelve months will enable U.S. carmakers to become significantly more competitive on price. After ten years of mostly futile trying, Detroit continues to watch the small-car market slip away to the Japanese, who are now training their sights on the mid-size and luxury end of the market as well.

The international competition that challenges the U.S. auto industry today was unknown when Iacocca began his career. His father Nicola immigrated to the U.S. from southern Italy in 1902 and eventually built a small auto-rental business in Allentown, Pa., with 33 cars, mostly Fords. Surrounded by Model A's, Son Lido always wanted to work for Ford. After graduating from Lehigh and getting a master's in engineering at Princeton, he joined the company as an engineer in 1946, then quickly switched to a district sales job. By 1970, he had risen so far that only Henry Ford II, grandson of the founder, outranked him.

Iacocca succeeded by indulging the passionate American love affair with the automobile. He combined a knowledge of an automobile's innards with a shrewd, almost intuitive sense of what car buyers wanted. He stripped the plain-Jane body off Ford's dowdy Falcon and replaced it with a long-hood, short-rear-deck configuration called the Mustang that in 1964 set a record for automobile sales by a first-year model (418,000). Four years later he reached into Ford's spare-parts bin again and launched the limousine-like Continental Mark III on a Thunderbird chassis.

Iacocca personified Detroit braggadocio, the longer, lower, wider mentality that economy- and quality-conscious buyers would eventually find objectionable. He was a used-car dealer writ large. 'At Ford, where the real power flowed like sap from the family tree, Iacocca managed to tap in through the sheer force of personality. A cadre of Iacocca subordinates grew up who owed their fealty to him, not to the boss whose name was on the cars. One of Iacocca's weapons was a black book he carried, itemizing each manager's quarterly goals, a tradition he transferred to Chrysler. Those who did not live up to their targets rarely forgot it. Says William Fugazy, the New York travel and limousine owner who has known Iacocca for 25 years: "I've seen him just ream guys out for not getting the job done. He'll turn to one of his top people and say, 'I told you what I wanted done. It hasn't been done. Now do it, and I don't want any crap.' He never wants any crap. It's one of his favorite expressions."

Inevitably, President Iacocca and the equally strong-willed Henry Ford II clashed. On July 13, 1978, the chairman called Iacocca into his office and fired him. At the time a story made the rounds that Ford, by way of explanation, offered this: "Let's just say I don't like you." Iacocca insists that is apocryphal, but says he is keeping the real story for an autobiography he is writing. Whatever was said, it was apparently enough to last a lifetime. Neither man has spoken to the other since Iacocca walked out of Ford's office.

Iacocca was evicted from Ford world headquarters in Dearborn and given an obscure office several miles across town to serve out the four months until he could collect his retirement benefits. Already a millionaire, he might have ended his business career then; there are few successful second acts in the automotive industry. But Iacocca loves a challenge. On Oct. 30, 1978, Iacocca was officially through at Ford. On Nov. 2, Chrysler made two announcements: 1) the company had just lost a record $158.5 million in the third quarter, and 2) Iacocca would become Chrysler's president.

Joining Chrysler presented Iacocca with the chance to be his own boss at last and to put his unmistakable stamp on the industry. While the top jobs at GM and Ford had passed on to drab managerial types, Chrysler remained a company where a single, forceful personality could make a difference. It had, in fact, had a suc-

An office lunch with Heir Apparent Gerald Greenwald and Production Boss Stephan Sharf

The chairman has picked 24 of the company's 28 top officers since he arrived in 1978.

cession of strong-willed leaders, beginning with a brilliant entrepreneur named Walter Chrysler, who founded the company in 1925, 22 years after Ford, 17 after GM.

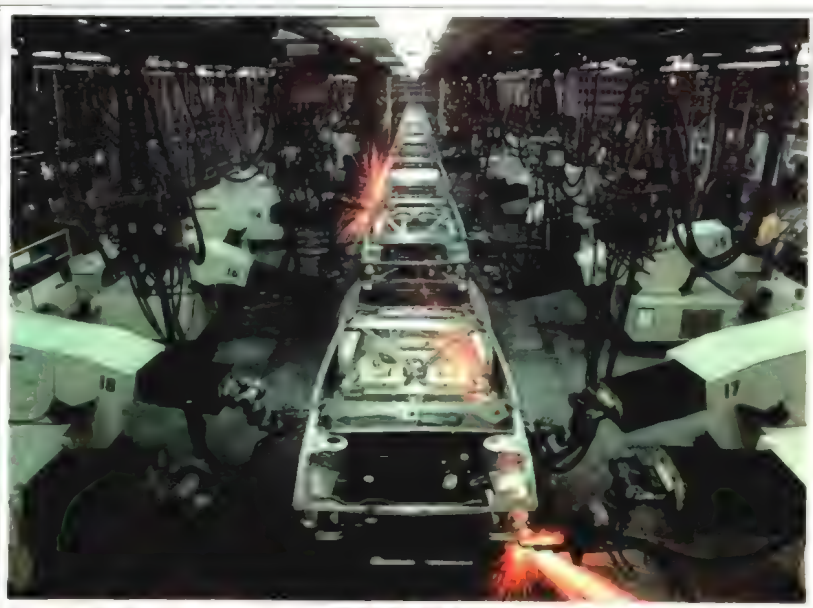
For a time in the late '40s, Chrysler (whose product line included Plymouth, Dodge and De Soto) surpassed Ford as the No. 2 U.S. automaker. But then began two decades of losing ground. A costly international expansion program drained resources and diverted executives' attention. Strapped for cash, Chrysler shunned small cars for larger, rather stodgy models that it sold to mostly lower-income buyers. Thus it was ill prepared for the surge in gas prices that began in 1973. Even its reputation for quality began to slide. The company's market share, as high as 26% in 1946, slipped to 12% by 1977.

By 1979, Chrysler Chairman John Riccardo had begun making regular trips to Washington to drum up support for tax credits and relief from regulatory restrictions. He told anyone who would listen that Chrysler's future was threatened unless it could get financial help to transform its aging, oversize fleet into economical front-wheel-drive cars. It took losses of $1 billion, plus all of Iacocca's lobbying during his first year at Chrysler, to ram the message through.

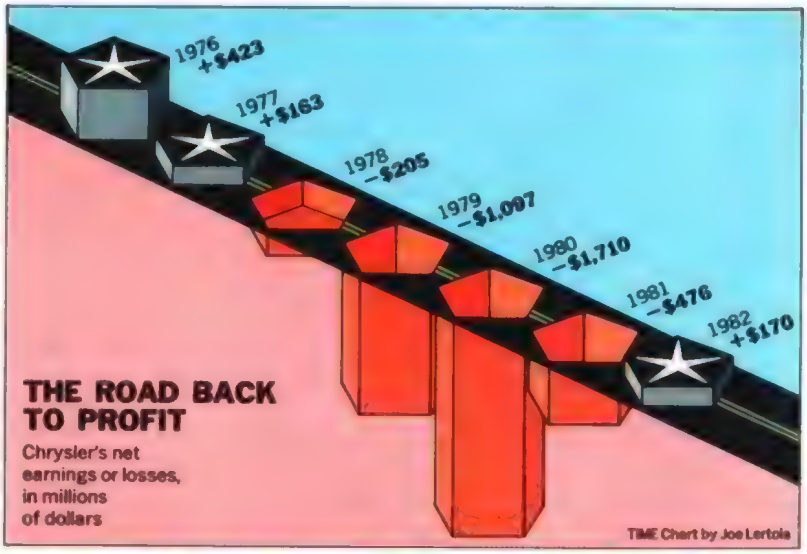
After Congress's approval in December 1979 of loan guarantees covering $1.5 billion of Chrysler's borrowings—money it would need to survive—Iacocca's hardest task began. Congress made the guarantees contingent on Chrysler's winning about $2 billion of concessions on its own from the United Auto Workers, suppliers, state and local governments and 446 lenders. Those negotiations took six months and were concluded just as the company was days away from declaring formal bankruptcy.

But money alone could not solve Chrysler's problems. When Iacocca arrived, he found management in disarray. Executive responsibilities were ill defined, and there were few of the sophisticated financial tools needed to keep track of operations. The quickest fix Iacocca knew was to hire people who understood the same system he did: other Ford executives. Some were called out of retirement, others were wooed away and enlisted with Iacocca for the challenge of engineering a turnaround. Today the four top officers are Ford alumni: Iacocca; Vice Chairman Gerald Greenwald; Harold Sperlich, president of North American automotive operations; and Executive Vice President of Finance Robert S. Miller. Of the 28 highest-ranking Chrysler executives, only four remain from pre-Iacocca days. Says Survivor Stephan Sharf, 62, executive vice president of manufacturing: "As the newest vice president when Iacocca arrived, I followed a tradition and sat next to the chairman at meetings. Now I'm nearly at the end of the table."

As he swept out the old management, Iacocca also axed some bad business practices. The most insidious was a device



Computerized robots automatically weld the bodies of two-door K-cars and convertibles



Advanced graphics displays signal breakdowns on a conveyor system for auto bodies

A high-risk strategy that relies on conjuring up new models from existing car lines.

known as the sales bank. Unlike other automakers, which build few cars except those ordered by dealers either for customers or showroom stock, Chrysler turned out a lot of cars that simply sat in inventory. Although theoretically this meant that production lines could be kept running efficiently, the sales bank became a tool to hide mistakes. Managers ordered tens of thousands of cars built so that they could boost production figures, as well as their bonuses. Most of the vehicles were eventually sold to dealers at cut-rate prices, often after months of outdoor storage had taken their toll. Iacocca's cure for Chrysler's peculiar addiction to production mandates was to kill the sales bank. The company took some heavy losses to sell off its backlog of inventory, but once the last car was gone, Chrysler stopped making cars on speculation.

Iacocca's next task was to convince car buyers that Chrysler was indeed alive, even if it was not exactly well. Again he turned to his old employer and wooed away Kenyon & Eckhardt, the New York City advertising agency that had represented Ford for 34 years. Iacocca's carrot was a $140 million account, the second largest (after Chevrolet) in the auto industry. The agency decided the most sensible way to spend the money was to market the chairman himself.

Kenyon Chief Leo Kelmenson began to find himself on the phone with Iacocca at all hours: designing ads, plotting strategy, evaluating results. He recalls: "Lee used to phone late at night, and then I'd hear from him first thing in the morning. Two days later, the advertising would be on the air. It was fast paced all the time, and it went on for months and months."

Iacocca inherited the design of the front-wheel-drive K-cars. Though they were not brought out until the fall of 1980, they had been practically ready to go into production when he arrived two years earlier. (He still could not resist tinkering with the grille and adding louvers to the windows shortly before the designs were locked up.) Chrysler had botched the launch of the luxury New Yorker series in 1978, and the memory haunted Iacocca. Now, with buyers clamoring for fuel-efficient cars and Chrysler short of cash, a trouble-free K-car rollout was critical.

It turned out to be a near miss. Problems with advanced robotic welders and material handlers slowed initial production so that only 10,000 cars, less than a third the number needed, were in showrooms on the official introduction date, Oct. 2, 1980. Chrysler flubbed in other ways as well. Iacocca sent the earliest

Was the Bailout a Blunder?

Few recent issues involving American business have stirred more controversy than Congress's decision three years ago to grant federal guarantees on $1.5 billion worth of Chrysler Corp. loans. TIME asked a number of those who opposed the bailout whether, in light of the fact that it helped save Chrysler and its 59,200 jobs in the U.S., they had changed their minds. None had. The reason, doubtless, is that the issue goes beyond the troubles of a single company and raises fundamental questions about whether the free-enterprise system should be allowed to work. Excerpts:

Milton Friedman, Nobel-prizewinning economist: "Obviously, it's a good thing for Chrysler and the country that the company seems to be surviving, but one bad byproduct is that it will lead people to believe bailouts are a good thing. A free-enterprise system is one of profit and loss. If you guarantee against losses by bailing out losing companies, you remove the major monitoring device of a free market."

Peter Peterson, chairman of Lehman Bros. Kuhn Loeb, the New York City investment banking firm, and former Secretary of Commerce: "Bailing out troubled companies is a broad-based policy, not an individual phenomenon. Lee Iacocca has not only been a phenomenon, he has been phenomenal. But should we build a broad-based policy on the assumption that another Iacocca would be at the helm?"

Alan Greenspan, economic consultant and former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers: "Propping up failing companies with Government loans delays the shift of resources into more productive ventures. Policies focused on protecting jobs in moribund industries must eventually fail and, in the end, destroy more jobs than they save."

Murphy

Thomas Murphy, former chairman of General Motors: "The Government should not be owning and running businesses. When it gives federal guarantees, it is in effect embarking on a course that could lead to Government ownership. The marketplace should determine success or failure."

Proxmire

William Proxmire, Democratic Senator from Wisconsin: "We'll have far better business management in the long run if we allow the tough, cold, cruel system of free enterprise to work. It's served us very well. In the year that Chrysler came to us, there were 6,000 business failures. But because Chrysler was big, with a lot of employees, and because it was a presidential election year, we bailed them out. Where do you draw the line? You could make a much better case for helping little firms than big ones. When you start bailing out obsolete industries, you keep us in the horse-and-buggy stage."

Phil Gramm, Republican Congressman from Texas: "I still feel the loan guarantees were wrong. I never accepted the premise that Chrysler would be unable to deal with its problems without federal aid. I think Chrysler would be stronger today if it had been forced to make the tough adjustments itself."

Stockman

David Stockman, director of the Office of Management and Budget and a former Republican Congressman from Michigan, the only member of his auto-oriented state's delegation on Capitol Hill to vote against the bailout: "I'm not sorry about that vote. The issue was a type of Government assistance that cannot and should not be generally available to private industry in this country. I couldn't see the philosophical principle for it then, and I can't now."

Lowell Weicker, Republican Senator from Connecticut, who at one point threatened to filibuster the loan-guarantee bill to death but allows how he now owns "a little Chrysler stock" and "there's a very good chance I'll buy a Chrysler car pretty soon": "Would I vote against it again? Yes. As a matter of principle and precedent, I do not feel the Government should bail out companies. As chairman of the Small Business Committee, I have lived through two years of seeing little companies go down the chute in record numbers. Having said that, do I feel Chrysler and Iacocca have done a superb job? No question about it. I'm delighted to see Chrysler succeeding."

It's time to celebrate your vacation. In Bermuda.

Chances are, you've worked too hard and waited too long for your vacation for it to be anything less than extraordinary. So you deserve nothing less than Bermuda. Where the beaches are pink and beautiful. The golf greens are lush. And people are friendly, and speak your language.

1. Our beaches are so beautiful, they blush.
You may have expected to find lovely beaches on our island, but they're more than that. They're legendary—with sand as soft and pink as a bride's cheek, and water that's a most improbable crystalline jewel-blue (which makes it perfect for scuba-diving, snorkeling, sailing, swimming, and all sorts of water sports).

2. Our greens are emerald gems.
Did you know we have more golf-per-acre in Bermuda than anywhere else in the world? Each of our seven courses has the lushest greens, the fairest fairways, and breathtaking scenery.

And if golf's not your game, how about a set of tennis on a court ringed by oleander? Or taking off on a motorbike to take in the sights, from historic St. George's to the world's smallest drawbridge.

3. Not all our treasure is sunken.
Diving among the old shipwrecks around Bermuda is for the adventurous. Diving into our shops is for everyone.

And what finds you'll find—from all over the world: French perfumes. Swiss watches. German and Japanese cameras. Irish linens and Scottish cashmeres, to name but a few.

And while they may be treasures, they're not a fortune.

4. A little night magic.
How a Bermuda night dazzles!

Start it at sunset, with Rum Swizzles sipped on a terrace. Then a fabulous dinner in one of our world-renowned restaurants. (The Continental cuisine is superb—but don't miss our Bermudian fare, such as Rockfish Chowder with Sherry Peppers.) And dance the rest of the night away under a Bermuda Moongate.

5. The sun isn't the only thing that keeps you warm.
Our sunny skies are outshone only by our sunny smiles. And we'll make you smile, too, when you see our exquisite accommodations—from deluxe hotels, to charming guest houses, to traditional Bermudian cottage colonies.

We're even close by—a mere 600 miles from North Carolina in the Atlantic. And never more than 2½ jet hours from your major East Coast cities, with convenient airline schedules. Send for our colour brochure or contact your Travel Agent today.

Couldn't you use a little Bermuda right now?

Bermuda

For a free Bermuda brochure, address your nearest Bermuda office.

Bermuda Department of Tourism
Suite 640, 630 5th Ave., New York, NY 10111
Suite 1010, 44 School St., Boston, MA 02108
Suite 1150, 300 North State St., Chicago, IL 60610
Suite 2008, 235 Peachtree St. N.E., Atlanta, GA 30303

1305

Name_____ (please print)

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

The V.O. taste. So unexpectedly smooth. So surprisingly light. Mixed or straight, you'll taste the difference.
Of course, whenever you drink know when to say no. But when you do say yes, make it Seagram's V.O.
It's everything you never expected.
V.O. CANADIAN WHISKY A BLEND OF CANADA'S FINEST WHISKIES. 6 YEARS OLD. 86 PROOF
Break away from the ordinary. Discover the drink that stands apart

models out with high-profit options like velour upholstery and electric window lifts that pushed the sticker price from $6,000 up to $9,000. But buyers did not want the extras. Until the production imbalance was corrected, sales did not really take off.

Ever the optimist, Iacocca had predicted before Congress that Chrysler would lose only $482 million in 1980. Instead, the losses ran to $1.7 billion, much higher than 1979's record $1.1 billion deficit. The company was hemorrhaging cash. Just in time, the K-car caught on: in its first year, it won more than 20% of the compact-car market. Despite this, Chrysler's survival continued to be a week-by-week proposition throughout 1981. The losses were lower, if still unspeakably high: "only" $475.6 million. Iacocca and other executives periodically braced themselves for "drop-dead dates," deadlines when, the accountants calculated, accumulated expenses would overwhelm the amount of cash that was trickling in. Iacocca found himself one Friday night in November 1981 with just $1 million left in the bank, a pittance for a company that was spending $5 million per working hour. Only by delaying payments to suppliers and strong-arming dealers into buying cars during this period was he able to keep out of bankruptcy. The crisis somehow passed, and Chrysler was still in business. With its break-even point now halved, new management in place and its share of the U.S. auto market back up to almost 10%, from a low of 8.8%, the company was slowly edging away from the financial precipice.

Walter Chrysler and the 1928 Plymouth: first of many strong bosses

A Japanese colleague, Tomio Kubo, chairman of Mitsubishi Motors Corp., which builds two small-car models for Chrysler, pays Iacocca a compliment. Says he: "In the person of Mr. Iacocca we have developed a sense of security about the corporation and its future." He explains that Iacocca "shows signs of Oriental wisdom." Perhaps Mitsubishi's boss has noticed that in rebuilding Chrysler, Iacocca has turned from American role models and is looking to the Japanese. While he has tried to appropriate the expensive, high-gloss image of European automobiles for his more modest creations, Iacocca has borrowed heavily from the successful management and manufacturing techniques of Japan.

The Japanese have cut inventory costs by building parts plants next to assembly plants and using the same part on several car models. Now Chrysler, instead of shipping big batches of transaxles by rail from its Kokomo, Ind., plant to Belvidere, Ill., for assembly, moves smaller loads by truck, gaining at least 24 hours. Total saving on inventory from such measures: $450 million a year. Chrysler has cut the number of different parts it uses to 40,000, from 70,000. That means, for instance, that van buyers can choose only one kind of tinted glass, not two. Total savings: about $300 million annually.

A far greater challenge involves changing a basic tenet of the U.S. auto industry that was laid down in 1921 by Alfred P. Sloan, creator of the modern GM: produce a separate and distinct automobile for every price category. Since Chrysler can no longer afford the $1 billion it costs to build an entirely new model, it will eventually have to use its basic model, the K-car, as the building block for each of its four car sizes: subcompact, compact, intermediate and full size. Thus buyers have to be re-educated not to mind that their luxurious Chrysler may have started out as a lowly Plymouth.

It is a strategy that some automakers have quietly used for many years, particularly Japanese companies. But Chrysler

One for the Van Fans

Chrysler's newest creations, set to appear in showrooms next January as the Plymouth Voyager and Dodge Caravan, are not pretty, but they should be practical. The Voyager/Caravan will combine the boxy rump of a van with the truncated front end of a car. Known in automotive circles as a minivan, it was designed for people who want something smaller than a van and bigger than a station wagon. Though comparatively squat (more than a foot less in height than most vans), it can carry a load of 1,200 lbs., only 100 lbs. less than standard models. If used to cart people, the minivan seats seven, one more than a typical station wagon.

In the mid-1970s vans were the rage. Thousands of small businesses bought them to haul supplies and make deliveries. A new breed of nomads outfitted them with beds, bars and stereos, making them into miniature mobile homes. Because vans burn a lot of gas, sales fell by about 60% after the cost of oil surged in 1979, but they are rising again now that prices at the pump are falling. A major selling point for the Voyager/Caravan will be the 39 m.p.g. it gets on the highway, compared with 25 m.p.g. for a standard van.

Chrysler hopes that besides attracting van fans, the Voyager/Caravan will appeal to suburban housewives whose station wagons are not quite big enough for a Cub Scout den or a Little League team. For small-fry passengers, the step up into the Voyager/Caravan will be only 15 in., compared with 23 in. for a typical van. Unlike most vans, Chrysler's trimmer model will fit into a standard-size garage. The price of a Voyager/Caravan will range from $8,500 for a no-frills model to $12,000 for a de-luxe version equipped with such options as power windows and air conditioning.

It can hold a den of Cub Scouts but will fit in the garage

General Motors and Ford are working on minivans of their own, but neither company will have a model out before late 1984, at the earliest. With its head start, Chrysler is gearing up to build 180,000 minivans in the 1984 model year. Many industry watchers fear that such plans for an entirely new product are too optimistic. Not so, believes confident Lee Iacocca. He calls his minivan "a home run."

has taken the approach one risky step further. Americans who pay extra for an intermediate- or full-size car want to be convinced that they are getting additional value, not just a knock-off of an existing model. Bigger and better-heeled automakers can still afford to crank up entirely new designs when they are needed. Admits Iacocca: "We have to say, 'Do you want vanilla or chocolate?' GM says, 'Do you want vanilla, chocolate or strawberry?' " Later this year, for example, Ford will roll out its replacement for the rear-wheel-drive Ford Fairmont/Mercury Zephyr, known as the Tempo/Topaz. The totally new designs will have front-wheel drive and aerodynamic styling for greater fuel economy, advances that would have been impossible with Ford's old models.

At Ford, Iacocca dazzled buyers with the élan of a three-card monte dealer by spinning off the Mustang and Continental Mark series from existing chassis combinations. Now he is trying to do the same thing with virtually an entire line of cars. The $5,900 Dodge and Plymouth 1981-model K-cars begat the $8,100 1982 Chrysler LeBaron and Dodge 400, the $12,300 Chrysler LeBaron convertible *(see box)* and the 1983 Chrysler E Class and Dodge 600, which sell for $9,000 to $12,000. By stretching the K-car, he produced the luxury Chrysler New Yorker ($12,800). In the fall of '83 will come the Dodge Daytona and Chrysler Laser, sleek sports cars also using K-car components, which are receiving raves in the automotive press. They will sell for $10,000 to $14,000.

To keep the buying public bedazzled, Chrysler is developing vehicles for special market segments, known in Detroit as "niche" cars. These are expected to confer some luster on the rest of the car line as well as to reach relatively small but profitable markets where other carmakers are not competing. Later this year Chrysler will introduce the ultimate in elongated K-cars, the roomy five-passenger Chrysler Executive Sedan and a seven-passenger limousine. Iacocca has also ordered up a blatant knock-off of the $40,000 two-seat Mercedes-Benz 380 SL that Chrysler has code-named the SL and will sell for about half the price. He is wagering an enormous amount, $700 million, that he can rekindle buyer interest in vans *(see box)*. Chrysler claims the hybrid minivan will be as revolutionary as the Mustang.

While he has been restructuring the corporation, Iacocca has never stopped scrutinizing new model designs. A little while ago, he took one look at a mock-up of a 1986 subcompact, then curtly told the stylists that the front grille and bumper made them look like "Dodg'em cars." The lights burned late in the styling studios for weeks thereafter. Iacocca is unrepentant. Says he: "The guys who have it tough in this company are the product guy and the marketing guy because I grew up in those areas and think that I know more than they'll ever know."

Even with the skillful scavenging of existing models, the cars Chrysler brings to market between 1982 and 1986 will cost $6.6 billion before they roll off the production line. For a company still struggling to stay out of the red, the sum is staggering. But almost anyone in Chrysler's finance department can tick off where the money will come from. Part of the total, some $823 million, was spent last year, and another $2.5 billion or so is in annual budgets through 1986. A large chunk is in hand in Iacocca's $900 million cash kitty. And he is counting on generating the rest from profits and cash flow over the next four years. It is not a scenario that can withstand unpleasant surprises. Says Alan Webber, a former transportation-department aide who is now a senior research associate at Harvard: "One false step and they are off the tightrope."

To sell the new models, Iacocca has greatly strengthened another weak link: Chrysler's dealer base. After losing about 1,000 outlets out of 4,800 during 1979 and 1980, he succeeded in signing up roughly 300 new showrooms last year alone. Equally important, more of the dealers are making a profit: 80% in 1982, in contrast to only 52% in 1980.

Over the long run, and in that big battle for the international market, Chrysler will need help from other automakers to survive. Iacocca talks of plans for a new corporate entity he calls Global Motors. Rather than a megacorporation formed from actual mergers between car companies in different parts of the world, he envisions a setup in which Chrysler would undertake joint ventures with foreign manufacturers to get economies of scale or low-cost labor or design or technological expertise. The combines he talks about do not sound so different from the one GM and Toyota announced last month, a collaboration in California on the manufacture of a subcompact car. However, Iacocca rails against that one because GM and Toyota are so enormous and powerful already.

Back in the 1970s, Chrysler was moving in that new direction. It acquired 15% of Mitsubishi in 1971 and 15% of France's Peugeot in 1978. The ideal combination, says Iacocca, would be a top Japanese producer at the low end, a high-tech European company for the luxury segment and an American company for the middle of the market. As Iacocca sees it, "That would be Mitsubishi, Peugeot and Chrysler or maybe Nissan, Volkswagen and Chrysler."

If Iacocca worries much about Chrysler's survival these days, he shows little sign of it in public. He delights in twitting skeptics who doubt Chrysler's recovery. And in giving Government officials, including President Reagan, advice about how to manage the economy. Reagan appears to like it; hoping to get some ideas for his speech, he invited Iacocca to a small dinner at the White House nine days before the State of the Union message. Not long after that, Iacocca spent a few hours hobnobbing with the President at Chrysler's St. Louis assembly plant.

For several years, Iacocca has been lobbying for a 25¢-per-gal. increase in the federal gasoline tax. Most proponents of the idea see it as a way to discourage consumption, but Iacocca knows it would help Chrysler sell its new cars, which have been designed to go farther on less gas than their U.S. competitors. Chrysler's fleet averages 27.5 m.p.g., *vs.* 24.3 for Ford and 24.1 for GM. If falling oil prices spur a demand for old-fashioned big cars, Chrysler will hurt the worst. Says Iacocca: "What's happening with gasoline is

With Daughter Kathi, a public relations executive, and Wife Mary in Washington last month

For all the daring rhetoric, a shy, even awkward man who prefers his family's company.

Finally, a copier for the most important person in my life.

Me.

To you, I'm Jack Klugman the Actor.

To my agent, business manager, and accountant, I'm Jack Klugman the Corporation.

They have copiers. Why shouldn't I?

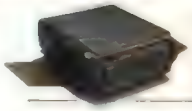
Now I can. A Canon Personal Cartridge copier. And it's so small, it's perfect for people in almost any business. Even if their business is at home.

It's like no other copier ever. Because Canon put the entire copying process—the toner, the drum and the developer—in one neat cartridge. Each cartridge is good for about 2,000 beautiful copies. On just about any kind of paper. Even labels and transparencies.

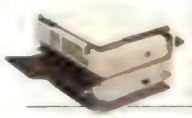
And once the cartridge is used up, you just replace it. It's so simple to care for, anyone could maintain it.

Here's something else it does. It copies in black, brown, or blue. Just by changing a cartridge. Nobody else's copier does that. Not even the big ones. And nobody else's plain paper copier costs so little.

So shouldn't there be a Canon Personal Cartridge copier for the most important person in your life? You



Canon PC-10
It's the shortest distance between you and a quick copy.
Compact. Convenient. Personal.
$995*



Canon PC-20
Efficient for any business.
With the added convenience of automatic paper feeding to make 8 copies a minute.
$1,295*

Canon PC Cartridges
Available with black, brown or blue toner.
$65 in black
$70 in brown or blue

*suggested retail price vs. fast, real savings.

Canon PC-10/20

Personal Cartridge Copying, Plain and Simple.

© 1983 Canon U.S.A., Inc.

Deciding to Go Topless

In one of his many spirited gambles, Lee Iacocca three years ago had the body of a K-car sent from Chrysler's proving grounds near Detroit to a custom auto body shop in California. There the car was rebuilt into a convertible and secretly shipped back East. When Iacocca drove it around Boca Raton, Fla., in the winter of 1981, it won instant admirers. That limited market survey helped convince him that the potential demand for a revived convertible was bigger than anyone imagined.

Chrysler LeBaron: $11,365

Though no major American automaker had built a convertible since 1976, Iacocca proved dead-on in his sense of what car buyers want. From the moment they went on sale, the Chrysler LeBaron convertible and its sister car, the Dodge 400, were smashing successes: 24,000 were sold in 1982, *vs.* 3,000 projected by Chrysler researchers. The four-seat LeBarons were snapped up, at $11,000 to $15,000 apiece, by celebrity trend setters, as well as by ordinary folks looking for a little dazzle.

Other convertibles were available in the U.S., of course, when Iacocca began cruising around Boca Raton in his custom-made number, but nearly all were prohibitively expensive imports that served mainly as playthings for the rich and as auto-show mouth waterers. The principal exception was Volkswagen's Rabbit, introduced to replace the Beetle in 1980. Crafted by Karmann, 12,114 of the ragtop Rabbits were sold in 1981 (price: $10,000) at a handsome profit. In addition, small customizing companies in states like Florida, California and Michigan have been cutting the steel tops off cars since the late '70s and turning them into convertibles for 20,000 to 25,000 fanatical owners a year.

Chevrolet Cavalier: to $12,000

Iacocca's LeBaron crystallized this ephemeral market, got Detroit thinking topless once again and started the convertible renaissance. Other U.S. makers are now weighing in with competitively priced models of their own. Chevrolet, aiming at what General Manager Robert Stempel calls the "wind-in-the-face crowd," is planning to introduce a version of its Cavalier in May, probably priced between $10,000 and $12,000. Ford's Mustang was reissued in November as a smartly styled convertible for about $12,500 and was a big star in commercials during the Super Bowl. Early production problems have been ironed out, and Ford executives now foresee sales of 30,000 to 35,000 for their convertible.

Aside from the Mustang, LeBaron's only other Big Four counterpart already on the market is Buick's Riviera convertible, which came out in April. At about $25,000, the soft-top Buick is less a competitor than an elegant showpiece car, one of the most expensive built in America. Only about 2,000 have been sold.

More models are coming from still other makers. This month West Germany's Porsche will sell its first convertible in the U.S. in 18 years. Price: $34,000. Mercedes has always offered elegant toplessness for the elite. Its 380 SL goes for $43,000.

Ford Mustang: $12,841

In the beginning, almost all U.S. cars were "convertibles," so-called touring cars open to the air. Sedans were the exception. In his 1925 novel *Arrowsmith*, Sinclair Lewis wrote of "enclosed motors" as luxuries. Closed cars became standard, though, in the 1920s. By 1927 about 83% of all U.S. autos were enclosed, creating a booming market for gasoline and other auto products because cars were being driven year round. After World War II the convertible again began to rise in favor. By the mid-1960s, half a million convertibles were selling yearly, accounting for 7% of car sales. All the major automakers had versions, including Chevy's Corvette and Ford's Thunderbird. Automen, ever macho, called convertibles the "mistress every man wants."

Buick Riviera: $25,460

They turned out to be just as vulnerable. By 1974 convertible production had dropped to 50,000 a year. The ragtops were done in by efficient auto air conditioning, hardtop styling and vinyl roofs that gave cars a convertible look at much less cost, other snazzy top variations like the sunroof, and rising crime. Vandals could easily slash a soft top, break in and make off with the vehicle or any prized part thereof.

Worries about safety in roll-over crashes proved to be the final blow. By the mid-1970s, convertibles had become rarities. American Motors stopped making them in 1967, Chrysler in 1971, Ford in 1973, Chevy in 1975. Finally, on April 21, 1976, what was then called the last American convertible rolled off the Cadillac assembly line, with Detroit Mayor Coleman Young as a passenger. The car was a white Eldorado with red-and-blue pinstriping, commemorating—and attempting to make a profit from—the Bicentennial. Two hundred of those cars were made, each selling for about $11,000 ($25,000 in today's dollars). Edward C. Kennard, Cadillac's general manager, said at the time: "Like the running board and the rumble seat, the convertible is an item that history has passed by." Not quite.

Iacocca intends to follow the LeBaron this year with another convertible, a Chrysler Town and Country, nicknamed the Woody, because it is patterned after postwar station wagons that were wood-paneled on the outside. The new car's wood is plastic—some critics say cheesy—and a comedown from the snappy-looking LeBaron. For next year Iacocca is planning still another new convertible, a two-seater that will sell for $20,000 and look shamelessly like a Mercedes; he even refers to it as "the Mercedes."

1976 Cadillac Eldorado: $11,000

Not all of Detroit's makers are joining the move to convertibles. Says American Motors Chairman Paul Tippett: "We think they are a fad." Indeed, there are a few signs that the new market is in a lull. Chrysler has cut production of its convertibles to 100 a day from 250 and slashed the price of its Dodge 400 by 25% from $13,500 to below $10,000.

Convertible sales may peak in a couple of years at about 50,000 to 75,000 a year, although other estimates run as high as 150,000. That would be a good market and a profitable one, but not as strong as 20 years ago. Prospective convertible buyers, however, do not care about those boring statistics. What they want is the wind in their hair once more. As for dealers, the most important thing about convertibles is their uplifting effect on sales. Says Ed Rikess, a Chevy dealer in St. Paul: "If we get people in to see it, we can move 50% of them into something else." —*By John S. DeMott. Reported by Dorothy Farenbaugh/New York and Paul A. Witteman/Detroit*

wacko. It's crazy. We needed to slap at least a quarter on the pump so that people didn't get into dirty habits and start buying those rear-wheel-drive New Yorkers like they were going out of style."

For all the outspoken rhetoric, Iacocca is basically a shy, even awkward man. Says J. Paul Bergmoser, a friend from Ford days who served as Chrysler's president for 20 months: "Believe it or not, he doesn't like to walk into a room alone. At parties, he is not for giving all the women a kiss, the way some people do." While Iacocca is often seen in public with the likes of Sinatra, Singer Vic Damone and Yankees Owner George Steinbrenner, he seems most comfortable in the company of his own family.

His wife Mary, whom he married in 1956, is the daughter of an Irish Catholic plumber. She was a receptionist at a Ford sales office in Chester, Pa., when the couple met at a Ford conference in Philadelphia in 1948. They have two daughters, Lia, 18, a student at a Michigan college, and Kathi, 23, a recent Middlebury (Vt.) College graduate who is a Washington public relations account executive. Iacocca and his daughters are close; he usually stays in Kathi's guest bedroom during his frequent trips to the capital.

Lee and Mary have lived in the same Bloomfield Hills, Mich., house for 20 years. Unassuming by neighborhood standards, it nevertheless comes with swimming pool and tennis court. The couple tend to stick close to home, partly because Mary is a diabetic who has been hospitalized in the past few years for both heart problems and a stroke. They spend their time watching television or reading bestsellers (a recent favorite: *Indecent Exposure*).

Job pressures have killed off one family institution, a weekly low-stakes card game with a group of friends known as the Friday Night Poker Society that frequently met in a game room dubbed Lido's Lounge. Iacocca does still find time to indulge a predilection for preparing his own Italian sauces. During a father-and-daughter European trip, he even induced an Italian hotel-owning friend in Modena to let him spend several hours observing the kitchen chef. Says he: "I cook on weekends mostly. Mary says it's O.K. as long as I have three guys follow along behind me to clean up."

For exercise, Iacocca jogs 15 to 20 minutes on a treadmill, plays a relaxed game of tennis and walks around a nearby lake, always carrying his "anti-goose" stick to ward off aggressive waterfowl. In darker moments, he imagines that the geese were hired by Henry Ford II.

Iacocca has forsaken the much publicized $1-a-year salary that he drew temporarily while steering the loan guarantee through Congress; last year he earned $365,676. His Chrysler stock is worth only $16,625, but he has stock options that would net him $4.9 million pretax if he exercised them. His enjoyment of the trappings of the corporate life has prompted his enemies at Ford to dub him "the Queen of Sheba." In 1981, the Government Loan Guarantee Board ordered Chrysler to give up its corporate jets, including Iacocca's favored Gulfstream II, to save money. Iacocca stalled until he was caught red-handed: Treasury Secretary Donald Regan saw a newspaper picture of him sitting in the New York Yankees dugout in Florida during spring training and figured that he had not gone there in a Plymouth subcompact. Chrysler now leases a jet, but Iacocca is irked that he must obtain the permission of the Loan Guarantee Board every time he wants to travel in it.

So far, neither the Treasury nor the taxpayers have lost or lent a cent in connection with the loan guarantee. Indeed, the Government actually nets about $11 million a year from payments Chrysler is required to make. (The money borrowed under the guarantee was raised in the public markets.) All the loans come due in 1990; Chrysler may be strong enough to repay some of them this year.

But Chrysler's long-term survival remains shaky. After giving up $965 million in wage increases and paid holidays, its 65,000 U.A.W. workers make $2 an hour less than industry counterparts, and they hope to make up the difference when their contract expires in January 1984. They could have a powerful ally then in Douglas Fraser, who retires as president of the U.A.W. in May but will stay on the Chrysler board, where he has been since 1980. Chrysler owes the union pension fund $477 million, and has an overhang of $2 billion in unfunded pension liabilities.

For a long time, people did not believe Iacocca when he declared that Chrysler was just the leading edge of the problems of the U.S. auto industry. Now they do. Despite the gains that U.S. automakers have made, their higher labor and manufacturing costs still give Japan a $1,000-per-vehicle advantage. When currency and tax differences are figured in, the Japanese advantage is closer to $2,000. Even if import restrictions are kept next year, as they are likely to be, U.S. automakers still face an uphill battle.

Chrysler executives as well as its creditors are worried that Iacocca will leave this problem to his successors and decide to retire in a year and a half when he reaches 60. Vice Chairman Greenwald, 47, who was president of Ford's Venezuelan operations, is the heir apparent. A polished Princetonian, Greenwald is articulate, decisive and as dextrous at debit financing as they come; he may not have Iacocca's compelling flair for salesmanship, but then who does?

The cigar-smoking boss in his memento-filled office, a Ford Mustang displayed prominently

"I don't know what the hell I rushed for. Maybe if I did it again, I'd slow down a little."

Iacocca insists he has no plans to quit, observing that he has seen too many contemporaries retire and then "die in six months." At the same time, he admits that he is tired. Having suffered rheumatic fever as a youth, he worries about his health and tends to tire easily. During the turmoil of congressional hearings in 1979, he nearly passed out in a Capitol Hill restaurant, though he makes light of the incident now. Says Mary Iacocca: "Lee's been through hell. He didn't realize how bad it was at Chrysler, or he would never have gone."

Taking a look back at his 37 years in the automobile business, Iacocca reflected not long ago: "I don't know what the hell I rushed for. It's a long race. I was trying to sprint all the time. Maybe if I had to do it again I'd slow down a little." The thought is so outlandish that not even Lee Iacocca can sell it. ***—By Alexander L. Taylor III. Reported by Michael Moritz and Paul A. Witteman/Detroit and Barrett Seaman/Washington***

The Nun *vs.* the Archbishop

Sister Agnes Mansour supervises Medicaid abortions

She is one of Michigan's most respected Roman Catholic nuns. She is also head of the state's department of social services, which spends more than $5 million a year on Medicaid abortions. Obedient to the teachings of her church, Sister Agnes Mary Mansour believes abortion is sinful. She also recognizes that others disagree, and feels that poor women are entitled to have publicly funded abortions so long as they are legal.

Archbishop Edmund Szoka of Detroit insists that a nun in such a public post must, as a minimum, declare her opposition to public financing of an operation that the Second Vatican Council deemed an "unspeakable crime." The resulting test of wills between nun and Archbishop is embarrassing Governor James Blanchard, dividing the state's Catholics, and seems destined to land at the Vatican for final judgment.

Blanchard, a Unitarian who is pro-choice on abortion, had good reason to choose Mansour to run the state's biggest agency. Her order, the Sisters of Mercy of the Union, runs 21 hospitals as well as other public service agencies in Michigan. Sister Agnes, who has a doctorate in biochemistry from Georgetown University, is an adept administrator who boosted both enrollment and endowments during the past decade as president of Detroit's Mercy College.*

Sister Agnes and Archbishop Szoka first clashed last year when she ran unsuccessfully in a Democratic congressional primary. The Pope has clearly indicated that priests and nuns should not hold public office, and those who do so should, according to current canon law, first get permission from their bishop. Mansour did not request permission, and says she did not know this was necessary. During the primary she tartly dismissed canon law as an "old set of rules that are invoked when somebody wants to invoke them, and ignored when someone wants to ignore them."

When Governor-elect Blanchard selected Mansour in December to be director of the public services department, she asked both her order and Archbishop Szoka for permission to serve. The order readily approved. So did Szoka, but he states that he gave his support only on condition that Mansour would clarify her position on abortion so that it was in line with church teaching. Szoka noted that the nun "cannot control the laws of the state," and added: "To make a big issue of this one thing seems a bit sensational."

Mansour at the Michigan senate confirmation hearing
"I recognize my morality may not be someone else's."

Mansour did not shift her position, contending that it was acceptable under church doctrine. Szoka came under increasing pressure from conservative Catholics and right-to-lifers for being too tolerant. On Feb. 23, Szoka ordered Mansour to resign. Several hundred nuns, as well as some priests, attacked his stand; there was even opposition to the Archbishop on Detroit's pastoral council, made up of priests, members of religious orders and laymen.

GRAHAM—DETROIT FREE PRESS

Archbishop Szoka

"It really hurts and disappoints me to find that I can't even find support here," Szoka told the council. "This is not a personal issue. It's not a man-woman issue. It's not a question of my trying to flaunt authority. It is a question of my absolute duty to stand for, to protect and to defend the doctrine of the church which has to do with human life." Szoka said that all he wanted from Mansour was a simple statement: "I am opposed to Medicaid funding for abortions."

Mansour was not about to make that concession when she appeared last week at her confirmation hearing in the Michigan senate. The nun testified, "I recognize that we live in a morally pluralistic society that government must be respectful of, and that my morality may not be someone else's morality." Evoking the memory of John F. Kennedy, she asked, "Are all Catholics once again suspect and possibly denied the privilege of public service?" Sister Agnes also said she saw no ecclesiastical "obstacle" to accepting the post. The senate confirmed her nomination, 28 to 9.

Mansour's appointment has also been backed by Bishop Kenneth Povish, whose diocese includes the state capital, Lansing, where Mansour works. Said he: "I would rather have a Sister of Mercy exercising whatever influence she can over that department than some feminist floozy who is an abortion advocate." Szoka, however, has maintained jurisdiction over Mansour, since her home convent is in Detroit.

The nun's superiors in the Sisters of Mercy have refused Szoka's appeal that they compel her to step down. Unless a compromise can be worked out, the issue will end up at the Vatican's Sacred Congregation for Religious and Secular Institutes. The congregation's deliberation would take months, if not years, and by then the church's new code of canon law will be in effect. If the congregation goes by the book, it will back Szoka. New canon No. 285:3 flatly forbids a nun or priest to hold public office in any circumstances. ***—By Richard N. Ostling. Reported by Barbara B. Dolan/Detroit***

■ ■ ■

In New Hampshire, four members of a separate branch of the Sisters of Mercy are engaged in a struggle with Bishop Odore Gendron of Manchester; in January 1982, without any formal charges, he had dismissed them as teachers at a parochial school in Hampton. Rather than obediently bowing out, the sisters sued the bishop in a civil court for reinstatement, arguing that their contracts guaranteed an explanation and a hearing. The New Hampshire Supreme Court last December rejected the bishop's contention that secular judges had no business ruling on a purely ecclesiastical dispute, declaring that it was a civil matter with no bearing on doctrine. The supreme court remanded the case to a county superior court for a hearing to begin next month. Insists Sister Catherine Colliton: "The bottom line is the contract. The bishop is the employer, and I'm the employee." ■

*The national superior of Mansour's order, Sister M. Theresa Kane, became famous during Pope John Paul II's visit to Washington, D.C., in 1979 when, on national television and with the Pontiff listening a few feet away, she politely but firmly criticized her church for barring women as priests.

Science

Cosmic Search

Listening for life in space

As it points serenely skyward from a ridge dotted with apple orchards, the 84-ft.-wide dish appears to be just another space-age antenna. But last week, the Harvard radio telescope, 30 miles northwest of Boston, became the center of a champagne inaugural and worldwide scientific attention. As colleagues and reporters clustered around him inside the observatory's control room, Harvard Physicist Paul Horowitz tapped a few keys on a computer terminal. A minute or so later, a jumble of jagged lines flickered onto a video monitor. They represented the random squawks and beeps of the universe that had just been picked up by the giant antenna. Only slightly disappointed, Horowitz sighed, "Looks like the same old noise."

Despite the inauspicious start, the event was something of a milestone. It marked the beginning of the most sophisticated search yet for evidence of intelligent life in the vast realms of space beyond the earth. Under a pledge of $120,000 from the Planetary Society, an organization of space advocates begun by Astronomer Carl Sagan *(Cosmos)*, Horowitz and his colleagues will be scanning the heavens for the next four years. They hope to pick up some orderly signal, besides the chaotic noise of the stars, that would indicate that E.T. (for extraterrestrial) is not just a Hollywood fantasy.

For the past two decades, radio astronomers in the U.S. and abroad, especially the Soviet Union, have conducted dozens of such searches. None have picked up the slightest hint of a signal that might have been given off by a distant planetary civilization orbiting a remote star. Indeed, even diehards like Sagan are forced to concede that there is not a scintilla of hard scientific evidence that life of any kind exists on far-off worlds. But the search efforts so far have admittedly been slapdash, concentrating on only small parts of the sky and tuning in to just a few of the vast range of radio frequencies that might be used for transmissions. Horowitz, who caught the SETI (Search for Extraterrestrial Intelligence) bug after Cornell's Sagan lectured on the subject at Harvard, decided to improve the odds. He developed a compact multichannel receiver that can be hooked to a large antenna and can listen to 131,072 closely spaced channels simultaneously.

Even the gifted E.T. could hardly be expected to pick out an intelligent signal in that electronic haystack. But Horowitz, who designed his "suitcase SETI" in collaboration with scientists at Stanford, the University of California at Berkeley and the NASA Ames Research Center, overcame the difficulty. The telescope's signals can be fed into a computer and rapidly analyzed for the telltale blips that might mean a message. In addition, Horowitz centers his listening on certain "magic" frequencies, like those around the natural radio emissions of the hydrogen atom, which gives off beeps of a precise wave length. These frequencies would presumably be preferred by an advanced civilization for broadcasts because there is little interference in that part of the radio spectrum. In preliminary work at Berkeley, Jill Tarter, using a similar receiver developed under NASA's auspices, picked up a number of tantalizing signals. Virtually all, it turned out, could be explained as local disturbances, as for example the static given off by the ignition of a passing truck.

A champagne baptism for Harvard's SETI

Opening an aperture to the future.

Until recently, NASA had been blocked from undertaking such cosmic experiments because of the unwavering opposition of Wisconsin Senator William Proxmire, who once gave SETI a "Golden Fleece" award as a waste of taxpayer money. But Proxmire eventually relented, thanks to Sagan's own faith in SETI ("an aperture to the future") and to a persuasive argument that there might be welcome byproducts from the work, among them advances in computer technology. NASA will soon begin its own intensive searches, using even larger radio "ears," like the 300-ft. Goldstone dish in the Mojave Desert and the 1,000-ft. Arecibo antenna in Puerto Rico. So, E.T., if you are really there, please call your friends. ■

Orbital Squall

Weather satellites for sale

Ever since Tiros 1, the first of the nation's weather satellites, went up in 1960, these sentinels of the atmosphere have proved invaluable watchdogs. Their advance warnings of hurricanes and tornadoes have saved countless lives and billions of dollars in property. Only this winter the satellites predicted the blizzard in the Northeast and major coastal storms in California. Though meteorology remains inexact, the flood of images from space has made today's 24-hour weather forecasts at least twice as accurate as those of pre-satellite days.

This notable record aside, the Reagan Administration last week hung a FOR SALE sign on the nation's four operational weather satellites as well as on Landsat 4, the satellite whose color views of the planet have provided invaluable information on crops, pollution and mineral deposits. The White House said the man-made orbiters could be operated more efficiently by private firms. The most probable buyer at a price of some $300 million: Comsat, the Communications Satellite Corp., which has expressed an interest in increasing its own satellite network.

To ease concern that the satellite auction might lead to dismantling of the 113-year-old U.S. Weather Service, John V. Byrne, head of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, its parent agency, promised that the Government would continue to distribute basic weather forecasts without charge. "The man in the street," he said, would still be told "whether he should wear a raincoat." These assurances are not likely to head off a storm in Congress, which must approve the sale. Groups like the National Farm Union are threatening opposition for fear of losing such no-cost services as frost warnings. Scientists are concerned not only that the amount of data available for weather research will dwindle drastically, but that the U.S. will no longer exchange meteorological information freely with other nations. Consumer Advocate Ralph Nader calls the plan "a rip-off of the American taxpayer" because, as the Administration acknowledges, the Government would buy back up to 95% of the data from the new owner.

Byrne and other Administration officials insist that the sale will mean "significant savings" to the taxpayer. In fiscal 1984, the estimated cost of operating all satellites will be about $200 million. At present, the White House cannot estimate how much the Government would save by buying satellite data. To look into such questions, Congress plans to launch hearings, an action that could scrub the Administration's plan before it lifts off the pad. ■

Permanent pleasures.

Choose one of these five sets and save up to $305.50

You simply agree to buy 4 books within the next two years.

The Encyclopedia of Philosophy

for **$24.95** (Pub price $175)

The most comprehensive encyclopedia of philosophy ever published, this set traces ancient, medieval, modern, Eastern and Western thought. An essential and rewarding reference source for home libraries.

The Compact Edition of The Oxford English Dictionary

for **$24.95** (Pub price $150)

The "most complete, most scholarly dictionary of the English language" – *The Christian Science Monitor*. Through photoreduction, the original 13-volume set has been reproduced in this two-volume *Compact Edition*. Magnifying glass included.

The Nine Beethoven Symphonies & The Five Piano Concertos/Ashkenazy

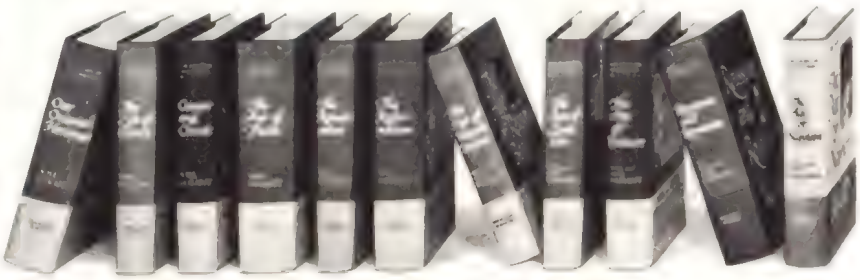
for **$19.95** (List prices total $115.74)

Two of the most acclaimed recordings of Beethoven's works. Sir Georg Solti conducts the Chicago Symphony in the nine record set of Beethoven's complete symphonies. "A glorious musical combustion" – *Time*. In collaboration with soloist Vladimir Ashkenazy, Solti and the Chicago Symphony perform Beethoven's five concertos. "A major addition to the Beethoven discography" – *High Fidelity*. Available in 13 records or 8 cassettes.

The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire by Edward Gibbon. Edited by J. B. Bury

for **$24.95** (Pub price $300)

The definitive Bury edition of the most acclaimed history of all. Gibbon evokes a world of grandeur and decadence, masterfully tracing its collapse under emperors noble and ignoble. Seven-volume set, newly available with maps and illustrations on long-lasting, acid-free paper, quarter-bound in leather.



The Story of Civilization by Will and Ariel Durant

for **$29.95** (Pub prices total $335.45)

For almost half a century Will and Ariel Durant traced the continuity of world history – the religions and philosophies, the political and economic tides, the arts and sciences, the customs and conquests – to show the foundations of society today. A Book-of-the-Month Club exclusive for almost 50 years, the Durants' illustrated masterwork is history come alive.

Facts About Membership: As a member you will receive the *Book-of-the-Month Club News*® 15 times a year (about every 3½ weeks). Every issue reviews a Selection and 150 other books that we call Alternates, which are carefully chosen by our editors. If you want the Selection, do nothing. It will be shipped to you automatically. If you want one or more Alternates – or no book at all – indicate your decision on the Reply Form and return it by the specified date. *Return Privilege*: If the *News* is delayed and you receive the Selection without having had 10 days to notify us, you may return it for credit at our expense. *Cancellations*: Membership may be discontinued, either by you or by the Club, at any time after you have bought four additional books. Join today. With savings and choices like these, no wonder Book-of-the-Month Club is America's Bookstore.

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB

America's Bookstore® since 1926

Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc., Camp Hill, Pennsylvania 17012 **A180-3-1**

Check one box only

- ☐ 912 Compact OED **$24.95**
- ☐ 913 The Story of Civ **$29.95**
- ☐ 914 Ency of Philosophy **$24.95**
- ☐ 932 Beethoven (13 Records) **$19.95**
- ☐ 933 Beethoven (8 Cassettes) **$19.95**
- ☐ 951 Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire **$24.95**

Please enroll me as a member of Book-of-the-Month Club and send me the set I have checked at left, billing me for the appropriate amount, plus shipping and handling charges. I agree to buy four books during the next two years. A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment.

Mr.
Mrs. 3-64
Miss
(Please print plainly)

Address Apt

City

State Zip

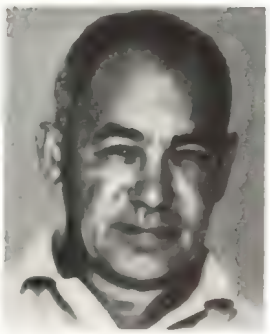
Prices shown are U.S. prices. Outside the U.S., prices are generally higher.

Advertisement

when I planned to **retire before fifty**

this is the business that made it possible

a true story by John B. Haikey



Starting with borrowed money Duraclean gave me the opportunity for financial security... In eight years I sold out at a profit and retired.

"Not until I was forty did I make up my mind that I was going to retire before ten years had passed. I knew I couldn't do it on a salary, no matter how good. I knew I couldn't do it working for others. It was perfectly obvious to me that I had to start a business of my own. But that posed a problem. What kind of business? Most of my money was tied up. Temporarily I was broke. But, when I found the business I wanted I was able to start it for a small amount of borrowed money.

"To pyramid this investment into retirement in less than ten years seems like magic, but in my opinion any man in good health who has the same ambition and drive that motivated me, could achieve such a goal. Let me give you a little history.

"I finished high school at the age of 18 and got a job as a shipping clerk. My next job was butchering at a plant that processed boneless beef. Couldn't see much future there. Next, I got a job as a Greyhound Bus Driver. The money was good. The work was pleasant, but I couldn't see it as leading to retirement. Finally I took the plunge and went into business for myself.

"I managed to raise enough money with my savings to invest in a combination motel, restaurant, grocery, and service station. It didn't take long to get my eyes opened. In order to keep that business going my wife and I worked from dawn to dusk, 20 hours a day, seven days a week. Putting in all those hours didn't match my idea of independence and it gave me no time for my favorite sport—golf! Finally we both agreed that I should look for something else.

"I found it. Not right away. I investigated a lot of businesses offered as franchises. I felt that I wanted the guidance of an experienced company—wanted to have the benefit of the plans that had brought success to others, plus the benefit of running my own business under an established name that had national recognition.

"Most of the franchises offered were too costly for me. Temporarily all my capital was frozen in the motel. But I found that the Duraclean franchise offered what I had been looking for.

"I could start for a small amount. You can start a dealership for as little as $3,488. Another option is a $11,588 full cash investment, and if you qualify, Duraclean can work out financing for half this amount. I could work it as a one-man business to start, and operate from my home. No office or shop or other overhead, no salaries to pay. Equipment would fit in my car trunk. (I bought the truck later, out of profits.) Best of all, there was no ceiling on my earnings. I could build a business as big as my ambition and energy dictated. I could put on as many men as I needed to cover my volume. And I could build little by little, or as fast as I wished.

"So, I started. I took the wonderful training furnished by the company. When I was ready I followed the simple plan outlined in the training. During the first period I did all the service work myself. By doing it myself, I could make much more per hour than I had ever made on a salary. Later, I would hire men, train them, pay them well, and still make an hourly profit on their time that made my idea of retirement possible—I had joined the country club and now I could play golf whenever I wished.

"What is this wonderful business? It's Duraclean. And, what is Duraclean? It's an improved, space-age process for cleaning upholstered furniture, rugs and tacked down carpets. It not only cleans but enlivens and sparkles up the colors. It does not wear down the fiber or drive part of the dirt into the base of the rug as machine scrubbing does. Instead it *lifts out* the dirt by means of an absorbent dry foam.

"Furniture dealers and department stores refer their customers to the Duraclean Specialist. Insurance men say Duraclean can save them money on fire claims. Hotels, motels, specialty shops and big stores make annual contracts for keeping their carpets and furniture fresh and clean.

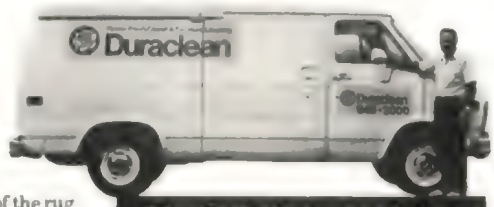
"Well, that's the business I was able to start with such a small investment. That's the business I built up over a period of eight years. And, that's the business I sold out at a substantial profit before I was fifty."

Would you like to have the freedom and independence enjoyed by Mr. Haikey? You can. Let us send you the facts. Mail the coupon, and you'll receive all the details, absolutely without obligation. No salesman will ever call on you. When you receive our illustrated booklet, you'll learn how we show you STEP BY STEP how to get customers; and how to have your customers get you more customers from their recommendations.

This is an opportunity for a career you will enjoy far more than a routine job. You make many friends who appreciate your quality services.

With no obligation, we'll mail you a 32-page booklet explaining the business. Then you, and you alone, in the privacy of your home, can decide. Don't delay. Get the facts before your location is taken by someone else. Mail the coupon, now.

Duraclean International



The first step—send for FREE Booklet today!

Duraclean International
3-9x2 Duraclean Bldg., Deerfield, IL 60015

WITHOUT OBLIGATION! send free booklet that tells how I can have a Duraclean business. No salesman will call.

PLEASE PRINT

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

EVEN BEFORE YOU GET ON THE TRAIN, YOU'LL SEE A BIG IMPROVEMENT.

There used to be only one place to buy a train ticket—at a train station.

But, like everything else about train service, that's all changed. With our computerized reservations system, getting a train ticket is faster and easier than ever before.

Now, in addition to Amtrak stations, you can get a ticket at more than 8,700 authorized travel agents in the United States.

Or you can just pick up your telephone and call Amtrak. We'll reserve a ticket for you, a hotel room,* even an Avis rent-a-car.* Right over the phone.

And whether you're traveling for business or pleasure, there's no more comfortable way to go than Amtrak.

Our coach seats give you first class comfort.

A coach seat on Amtrak is wider than the seats most airlines use. So you have more room to stretch out and relax, or get some work done.

In the last 6½ years, we've rebuilt our entire fleet. Amtrak now offers you some of the newest, most technologically advanced equipment in the world. We've also improved our on-time performance dramatically. Since 1979, it's gone up nearly 40%.

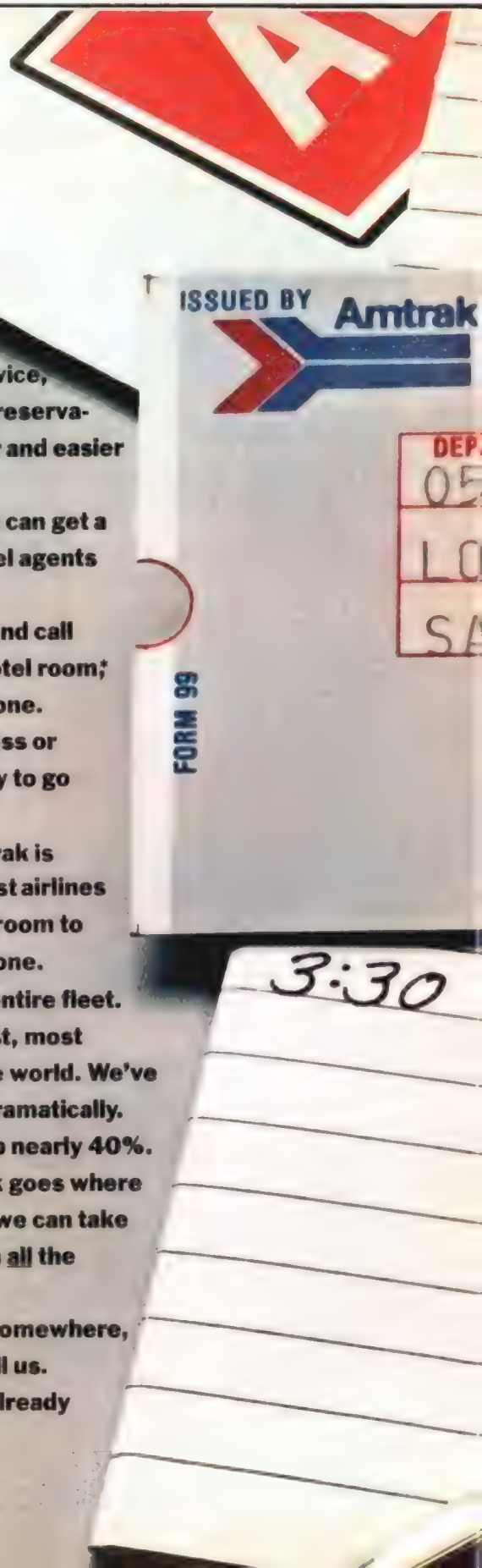
Maybe your next flight should be on a train.

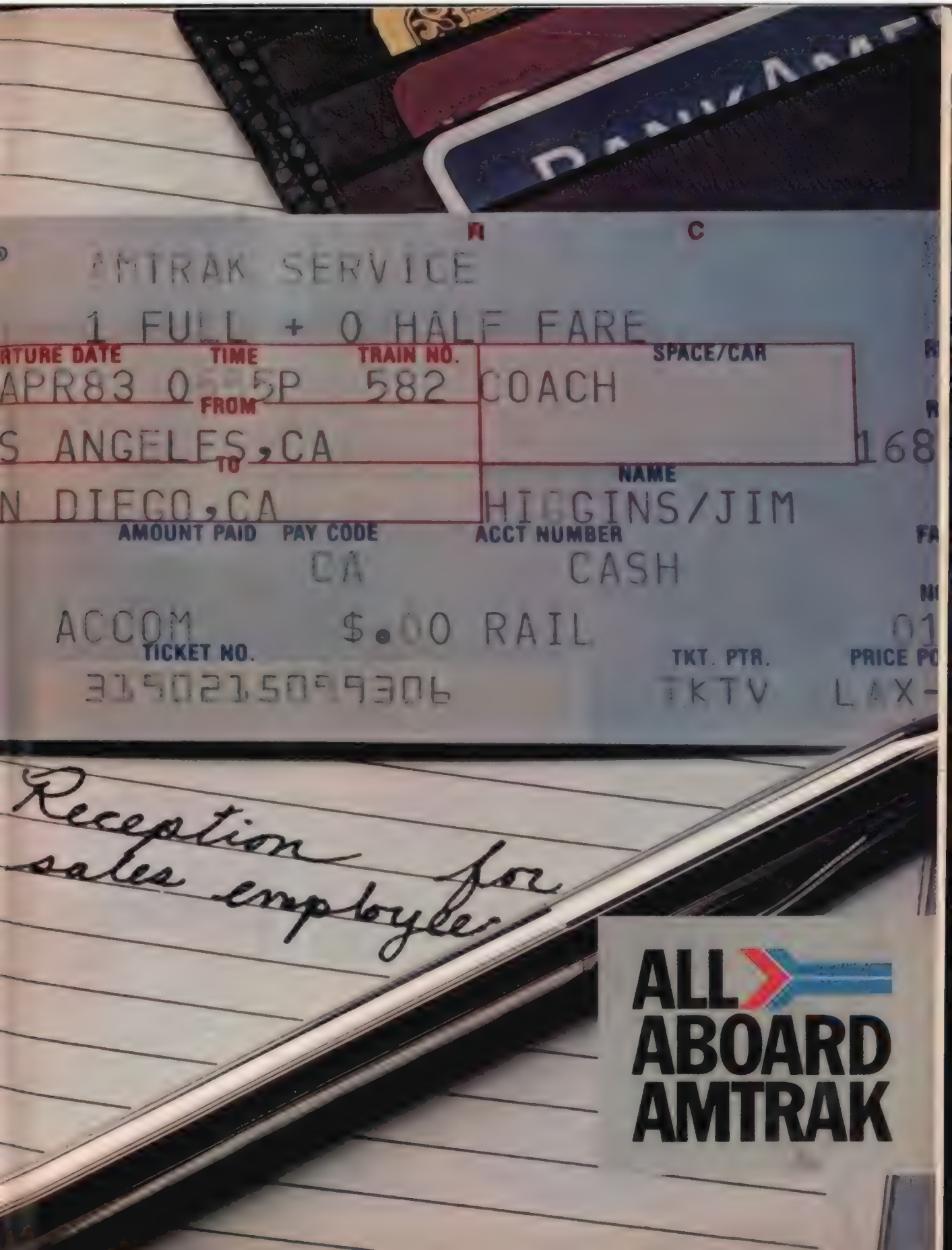
What's more, Amtrak goes where you want to go. In fact, we can take you to more places than all the major airlines in the U.S. combined.

So the next time you're planning to fly somewhere, ask your travel agent about Amtrak. Or call us.

Discover what 19 million riders a year already know: the plane isn't the only way to fly.

*NOT AVAILABLE AT ALL LOCATIONS.




AMTRAK SERVICE
1 FULL + 0 HALF FARE
DEPARTURE DATE
TIME
TRAIN NO.
SPACE/CAR
APR83 0 5P 582 COACH
FROM
LOS ANGELES,CA
TO
SAN DIEGO,CA
NAME
HIGGINS/JIM
AMOUNT PAID
PAY CODE
ACCT NUMBER
CA CASH
ACCOM $.00 RAIL
TICKET NO.
TKT. PTR.
TKTV
Reception sales employee for
ALL ABOARD AMTRAK

THE SEARCH FOR ALEXANDER

AN EXHIBITION

Royal Ontario Museum
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

A wondrous collection of officially authorized reproductions and adaptations of treasures from the exhibition has been created

These are but a few of the items of the large Collection.

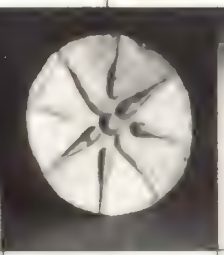
Books New York Graphic Society and Little Brown

Official Commemorative Medal
Silverplated Bronze
Mayuma — Alva

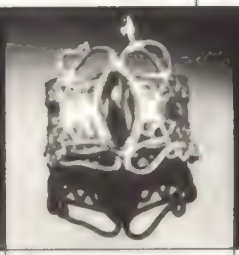
Design Book
Stemmer House Publishers

Official Exhibition Poster
Harvey Hutter Inc

Heraldes Head
Gold electroplated metal
Diane Von Basedow

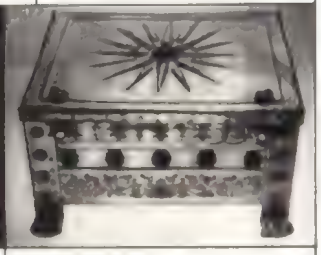


Star Disk Pin
Vermeil
Zolotas



[illegible]
with red garnet
Diane Von Basedow

Head of Alexander
Pella Museum
Alva Museum Replicas



Gold Larnax from Vergina
Color Slide — sound slide program
Sandak Inc

Alva Museum Replicas, Inc. Sculptures **Battle Road Press** Fine art jigsaw puzzles **Diane Von Basedow Inc.** Gold and silver jewelry, plated metal jewelry, metal reproductions **Wm. Chelsea Ltd.** Silk scarves **C. R. Gibson Company** Albums, notebooks, stationery **Harvey Hutter & Co.** Posters, postcards, note cards **Kenneth Jay Lane Inc.** Fashion jewelry **Little, Brown & Co.** Alexander biography and children's book

New York Graphic Society Exhibition catalog **Peggy Mach** Bronze sculpture, special order **Mazaltov's** Needlecraft kits **Sandak Inc.** Sound/slide program, color slides **Schreter Baltimore MD** Custom neckwear **Stemmer House Publishers** Book of Hellenistic designs **Tagliare Ltd.** Carved crystal **Zolotas, La Chrysotheque** Jewelry in gold and silver

To receive a complete listing of those selected publications and reproductions which are available at the Museum, send name, address and $1 to cover mailing costs to:

Alexander Book and Gift Shop
Royal Ontario Museum
100 Queen's Park
Toronto, Ontario M5S 2C6
Canada

Available at the Royal Ontario Museum

Exhibition at the Royal Ontario Museum March 5–July 10, 1983

Think Small: Here Come CDs

Digital sound opens a new age in recording technology

This is the year to pity poor music lovers. Just when they thought they had assembled the best audio system budgets could buy, along comes a technological development that may render their expensive turntables and library of LPs as out of date as Edison's first talking machine. This month two major manufacturers, Sony and Magnavox, are introducing a limited number of digital record players in audio and department stores across the U.S. The machines, which retail for $800 to $1,000, use a laser beam instead of a conventional tone arm and stylus to play compact discs, or CDs, that are only 4.7 in. in diameter and will sell for about $17. Says Dan Davis, vice president of the National Association of Recording Merchandisers: "There is a consensus that this is perhaps the most exciting of the breakthroughs in the field, including the LP and stereo."

The new system has been enthusiastically welcomed in Japan, where the players and discs went on sale last October; despite the high price tag, more than 35,000 players were sold in the first three months. Originally plans called for the equipment to be introduced in the U.S. this summer and fall, but Magnavox and Sony have each launched a spring offensive to seize an early share of the crucial American market. At first supplies of both players and discs will be limited, as the companies struggle to get the bugs out and meet production goals. But dozens of other manufacturers have been licensed to make players by Philips, the Dutch electronics giant, and Sony, the joint developers of the technology; thus competition and increased sales are expected to improve the product and drive costs down to a more affordable $400 or so in time.

Until digital, record technology had not changed much in principle since the Edison cylinder. On conventional LPs, called analog recordings, images of sound waves picked up by a microphone are traced into vinyl grooves; a kind of aural photograph is "developed" when a stylus retraces the grooves and re-creates the sonic vibrations. Digital recordings are akin to the computer-assisted cameras used in space, which translate images into a series of binary numbers that are later reassembled into pictures back on earth. In digital recording a computer takes 44,000 impressions of sound per sec. and assigns each a numerical value. The numbers are then recorded in pits embedded in the disc, read by a laser beam and changed back into sound. The "digital" LPs currently found in record stores are really hybrids, recorded digitally but pressed and played back as analog discs.

Digital CDs have several important advantages over conventional records. For one thing, there is no surface noise, since the laser reads only the numbers, not any dust or grime on the disc's laminated surface. Because nothing touches the disc, there is no wear. Digital records lack the distortion customarily found on LPs in loud passages and near the end of a side, when the sound is unnaturally compressed. The new players are designed to plug into conventional component systems, and the discs will be compatible with any player on the market.

The real advance, however, may turn out to be artistic. Because of the clarity of digital sound, every flaw, both in performance and production, is ruthlessly exposed. One probable result: pop-record producers will be more careful with such studio gimmicks as overdubbing and excessive reverberation. In the classical sphere, an even higher premium will be put on technical excellence.

Skeptics assert that the excitement over digital sound is still premature. They point to potential consumer resistance, the player's high price and the lack of discs. In the U.S., CBS/Sony currently has only 16 titles, and Polygram, whose labels include Philips, Deutsche Grammophon and London, has but 35 classical and pop releases, although CD catalogues will grow as more companies enter the fray. "Even within the next decade, I cannot imagine a total changeover," says Hi-Fi Pioneer Henry Kloss. "The good stuff available on the market right now means there is no need to abandon it for a new standard that isn't totally tried."

Still, it would not be wise to bet against digital. Once the equipment and discs are widely marketed, they will be pushed by merchandisers eager to rejuvenate an industry that has seen customers siphoned off by such high-tech gadgets as video games and home computers. To listeners with good ears, the difference between digital and analog sound is, in its own way, as striking as the distinction between mono and stereo: the startling realism of high notes; the silent surfaces that allow even the lowest passages to be heard clearly; the explosive strength of the climaxes. "This is definitely a mass product," says a confident Bert Gall, CD system product manager at Philips. "Naturally the freaks will buy first, but the large public will surely follow." —*By Michael Walsh. Reported by Raji Samghabadi/New York and Allan Tansman/Tokyo*

The record of the future: actual size of the new compact disc, played by a laser beam

People

The Carters informally posturing

The couple behaved like typical tourists, gliding down the Nile, clicking away at the Sphinx, even striking a matching pose in front of a pharaonic frieze at Luxor. Except, of course, that typical tourists do not have the Nile searched for explosives beforehand; neither do they lunch with **Jehan Sadat,** widow of **Anwar,** nor get together with President **Hosni Mubarak.** Visiting Egypt on a swing through the Middle East, **Jimmy** and **Rosalynn Carter** were reminded often of the 1978 Camp David accords. Strolling through a Cairo bazaar, he was greeted with shouts of "Welcome, Mr. Peace Man!" Mused Carter: "I could do very well in an election in Egypt." But not necessarily everywhere else: as the Carters toured Jerusalem later in the week, more than 100 Arabs shouted slogans and threw rocks to protest the Camp David agreement.

■

A onetime actress with a flair for the dramatic, **Erin Fleming,** 42, was **Groucho Marx's** companion for the last six years of his life. Whatever their life was like together, the battle being waged in Santa Monica, Calif., between Fleming and the bank that was named as Marx's executor has had all the decorum of the courtroom scene in *Duck Soup*. In the seven-week case, which goes to the jury this week, the Bank of America accused her of gulling the comedian out of $428,000 before he died in 1977 at the age of 86. After outbursts in court, Fleming was examined by a psychiatrist, who found her "very incoherent, very angry and very mentally ill." But Fleming asserted that Groucho had been crackers and that she had kept him sane and happy. Celebrities who had known Marx, including **George Burns** and **Carroll O'Connor,** supported her version. Family members attacked her. As for Groucho himself, he testified, too, in a way. Jurors watched a videotape of the comic accepting a special 1974 Oscar and thanking Fleming, "who makes my life worth living and understands all my jokes."

Knock, knock. Who's there? **Nancy Reagan,** if one happened to be on the set of the NBC series *Diff'rent Strokes* in Los Angeles last week. The former actress, last seen in 1956's *Hellcats of the Navy* with **Ronald Reagan,** agreed to do the show as part of her crusade against teen-age drug abuse. On the program, which airs this Saturday, Arnold, played by **Gary Coleman,** writes a story about a drug ring in his school, and his report winds up in a New York City newspaper. Nancy, playing Nancy, reads it and drops by to discuss the piece. She flubbed a line in rehearsal, but fared better with the cameras rolling. Would she, asked Executive Producer **Howard Leeds,** like to star in her own sitcom? The First Lady laughed. "We'll talk," she replied. That's Hollywood for tabling the motion.

Nancy Reagan reading her cue cards during taping of *Diff'rent Strokes*

Erin Fleming in a moment of calm

■

Fred Astaire he is not, but **Jimmy Connors** nonetheless cuts a debonair figure in top hat and tails. The occasion for swapping whites for white tie *World Tennis* magazine was formally celebrating his 1982 ranking as No. 1. Last year Connors, 30, won both Wimbledon and the U.S. Open, but he elected not to play in the Davis Cup last week. His countrymen could have used him; the U.S. team was knocked out in the first round by the Argentines in Buenos Aires. Connors might not have been much help; last week he was defeated by an unknown from South Africa in the Belgian Indoor Championships. Could it be time to try a sideline like Fred's? Hmm, let's see, how about a film called *Top Spin?*

Connors in a formal posture

■

It was Monday, and they were sitting at Harry's Bar and American Grill in a city called Los Angeles. It was judgment night for the Sixth Annual International Imitation Hemingway Competition. If you have been to **Ernest Hemingway** judgment night, then you know how it is. Six judges reading the entries. Spare lean entries. Parodies. The winner was a woman named **Lynda Leidiger,** 30, with a story about a Valley Girl in a shopping mall. "In the Galleria, it was fine. Sometimes clean and warm and bright. Sometimes clean and warm and cold . . . She had been there as long as the concrete, longer than Sears . . . 'We will be fierce and fly down the freeway through the rain like two wild birds,' I said. 'But, like, I am afraid of the rain, darling,' she said. 'Sometimes I see myself all grody in it. And sometimes I see you grody in it. It's so gross. To the max.' She was crying, it was no good. *'Ciao,'* I said. But it was like saying goodbye to a statue, or a preppie. After a while I left her standing in front of Le Juice Bar, and walked down to the 7-11 in the rain." Lynda says she really is a Fitzgerald fan.

By James Kelly

For Purple Mountains' Majesty

Mahre wins third World Cup; McKinney nears a U.S. sweep

No American ski racer had ever won a World Cup until Phil Mahre won three. On consecutive snowy days last week, he beat Sweden's Ingemar Stenmark and everyone else to the bottom of Colorado cliffs in Aspen and Vail, ensuring his third straight championship. "Europeans aren't such great travelers," Mahre said compassionately. "They miss their mountains." Stenmark misses his World Cups. "I'm disappointed," said the former king of the hill, winner of three overall titles before Mahre. "I think I can never win the World Cup again." So Mahre's dominance is complete.

So is America's, as Tamara McKinney, 20, virtually clinched the women's overall championship, a first for the U.S. "I still can't believe it, but it feels great," said McKinney. "I was a little nervous about the race today. I just let the skis run." When Switzerland's Erika Hess, the defending champion, fell at a gate last week, McKinney moved up from third place, past Hess and Hanni Wenzel of Liechtenstein. Then, summoning what she called "the best ski days of my career," Tamara won two giant slaloms in Waterville Valley, N.H., her fourth and fifth victories of the winter. "I took some chances," she said, "and just let it all out."

Mahre, until last week, had not won a race all season, though his showings in each of the three skiing disciplines—slalom, giant slalom and downhill—added up to the leading point total for the four-month series. Winning his two giant slaloms pleased him more than clinching the Cup. "I don't know, individual races just mean more to me," he said. "You don't think of the Cup until afterward. The races are the fun of it, and I ski for the fun of it."

Considering that his domain is a collection of play villages built on the order of cuckoo clocks, Mahre seems wondrously down to earth. His celebrity in Europe is such that, when the greatest skier in the world comes home to the U.S., he enjoys being ignored. "I don't think there are many Americans who understand what I've done," Mahre said. "That's unfortunate for skiing but nice for me. I'm not one for fame and fortune." He does not strike himself as being that phenomenal. "I grew up in the snow," he said with a shrug, the Cascades of Washington, "where skiing was just something children did after school," especially the nine Mahre children.

Their father, Dave Mahre, mountain manager of the ski area at White Pass, gave each child a set of skis and a sense of adventure. Last year the news of Phil's second World Cup reached his father by shortwave radio as Mahre, 55, dangled from a rope on the side of Mount Everest. "Fortunately," Phil continued, "I was gifted, and I also had a twin brother who pushed me in the sense that I always wanted to beat him. And yet, at the same time, his victories were sort of my victories too. It's hard to explain."

Steve Mahre finished third behind Phil and Stenmark in the World Cup standings last year. Hindered by a shoulder injury this season, he stood ninth last week. Having followed four minutes behind his brother 25 years ago, Steve says good-naturedly, "I've been trying to catch up ever since." It delights him to have closed the gap to less than a second down a crooked mile.

They are nearly identical in ways more profound than toothy smiles and thinning hair. Each has an infant daughter and a desire to get back to the Cascades. "The travel is no longer so enjoyable," said Phil, "and the circuit is no place to raise a family. I'll take the summer off and see how I feel after that. But next year I might just pick and choose my races."

The Olympic Games are sure to beckon him to Sarajevo, Yugoslavia, next February, but for now the call is muffled, perhaps only by distance. "I don't really have any goals, other than to enjoy myself," Mahre said. "If you go to the Olympics, you have to be healthy and lucky that day." At Lake Placid in 1980, he took second in the slalom to Stenmark, whose Olympic eligibility probably ended three years ago when he shifted his residence to the less taxing principality of Monaco and took out a license to sell himself commercially at seven figures. Adhering to

MEL HARRIS

SCHREIBL-S

Mahre slips through a giant-slalom gate to his third World Cup; McKinney heads downhill after her title

the amateur rules, Mahre probably makes no more than a few hundred thousand dollars. "If I'm third at the Olympics, and I enjoy myself," he said, "that's great."

Concerning finances, he is forthright. It is hard to find pictures of the Mahres, or any skier for that matter, without skis propped over their hearts, brand names out. When Phil was asked if he intended to go on and wind up the season this week in Japan, he replied, "Sure, if not for myself, for my companies."

Billy Kidd, the pre-eminent U.S. skier of the '60s, stood off to the side at Mahre's Aspen victory, marveling, actually chuckling, over how relatively little Mahre appears to value the usual rewards. "Recognition, money, history books," Kidd said, "he doesn't care much about any of that. Only about having fun. He's serious, of course, but not intense. It's incredible that he's this way and this good. Above all, he's an unbelievable athlete."

As a high school football player, Mahre enjoyed the crashes. On the night before the last race of the 1981 World Cup, when he had to finish among the top three to become America's first champion, Mahre played three hours of basketball despite friends' hysterical warnings. No ski coach has ever been able to dissuade either Mahre brother from motocross racing in the off-season. "A lot of people say I'm crazy," Phil said, "but I think all these things are games, and games are for fun."

A lesser athlete could not make the turns he does; one with less joy for sport would likely never try. Mahre cuts his own ruts in the snow, and those who follow his tracks are apt not to finish the course. McKinney's style is frequently described as dainty. It is said that she skips down the mountain; her skis "kiss the snow." Many of the women racers are rather robust, but McKinney, at 5 ft. 4 in., 115 lbs., is as light as a scarf. The seventh and youngest child of Hall of Fame Steeplechase Jockey Rigan McKinney, and an equestrian herself, Tamara appreciates speed no less than most children of the Kentucky bluegrass, and no less than Mahre. "In the next few years," Mahre said, "skiing might not be such a bad sport for an American who wants to be famous."

In the meantime, Americans present for this pair's remarkable history were counted in the hundreds, not thousands. In Aspen many shouted their support for Mahre from chair lifts as they floated overhead toward their own peaks. The slopes adjoining the course were streaked with skiers of all levels of ability paying no attention. After the race, Mahre and Stenmark stood together for a time at the base of the mountain, still panting from their runs, Mahre bareheaded, Stenmark wearing an elfin cap topped by a ball of yarn. The ball bounced about slowly as the man who has won the most World Cup races of all shook his head, and then he shook Mahre's hand. Later, asked how he would celebrate, Mahre said, "Oh, I don't know, with a chocolate chip cookie maybe." *—By Tom Callahan*

Video

Two-steppin' on *Dancin' U.S.A.*, left, and Kippi Brannon singing on *Nashville After Hours*

Country Comes to Cable

The Nashville Network resounds with down-home sounds

With a whoop and a holler and a dash of down-home glitter, country music strutted onto cable television last week. The Nashville Network, a joint venture from WSM Inc. of Nashville (owners of the Grand Ole Opry) and Group W Satellite Communications, was beamed into some 7 million homes via 725 cable operators. It was the largest subscriber launch in the history of cable television. The inaugural evening featured five hours of live music by such country stars as Tammy Wynette, Emmylou Harris and Tanya Tucker as they sang at kickoff parties round the country. The Nashville Network, according to Industry Analyst John Reidy, "looks to me like one of the best ideas I've seen in quite a while for advertiser-supported cable."

TNN's debut, following the demise of the Entertainment Channel and CBS Cable, comes at a moment when cable industry analysts are circumspect about the immediate future. But the folks at WSM and Group W are bullish about the prospects for the Nashville Network. WSM has bet $50 million that America's growing army of country music fans will make the network profitable within three years.

Advertisers apparently share that optimism; the network has already lassoed such big league sponsors as Kraft Foods, Levi Strauss, Ford, Sears and R.J. Reynolds. "We launched TNN on Monday with 20 advertisers," says Dan Ruth, a spokesman for Group W. "We sold all the time we had." The going rate: $800 a minute. According to Robert Alter, president of the Cabletelevision Advertising Bureau, an industry trade group, "There's a very definite market for country music, and the market is probably more universal than people suspect."

The Nashville Network may avoid the identity problem that plagued the Entertainment Channel. Says Analyst Mike Dann: "It is as specialized as a news channel, a weather channel or a financial channel." Its theme is the world according to country. Its 18 hours of daily programming boast a cornucopia of country culture: 30 minutes of live music a night on *Nashville After Hours; I-40 Paradise*, a country comedy set in a Tennessee truck stop; *Dancin' U.S.A.* (watch rhinestone cowboys do the "Cotton-Eyed Joe"); *Fandango*, a quiz program testing contestants on their knowledge of country trivia. Unlike MTV, which is essentially a video jukebox featuring rock video clips, the Nashville Network has a menu of original programming along the lines of a full-service network.

A possible hitch for TNN is that it is beamed from Westar V, a relatively new satellite that is picked up by fewer cable operators than RCA's Satcom III-R. With its almost 40 hours of original programming a week, TNN will have its hands full keeping production costs down. Still, country and cable seem like a good match. For one thing, they share the same rural roots. Indeed, an advertising slogan for the new network claims that it is a service "for people who really love their country." Music, that is. *—By Richard Stengel*

Four mistakes

you won't make on an NEC personal computer.

1. The overnight wonder mistake.

Seems like every time you look there's a new personal computer on the market and a "wonder computer" that went out of business. NEC has been in business for 80 years, and we pioneered in computers almost 30 years ago. We're in the personal computer business to stay.

2. The patchwork system mistake.

A keyboard from here, a disk drive from there. And programs wherever you can find them. That's OK if computers are your hobby. But business people need a system that's designed to work together. You don't want to be in the middle of an argument between one maker and another. NEC takes responsibility for the entire system. We make it all, and we'll guarantee that it will do what we say it will do.

3. The mystery microprocessor mistake.

You'd be surprised to learn whose microprocessors are in whose computers. Companies you'd swear made their own chips are using someone else's. And since the microprocessor *is* the computer, it pays to look into just what you're paying for. At NEC we make our own microprocessors. In fact, we're the world's 2nd largest maker of semiconductors. We make sure that only the best go into our personal computers.

4. The more/less than you need mistake.

Sometimes people buy a computer based on a famous brand name, only to find that the machine they've bought can't do anything they want to do without a lot of expensive modifications. NEC makes a range of different models to match your needs. The new "NEC Trek" PC-6000, for example, connects directly to your television screen and can teach you more about computers than any glorified video game machine. It's a true computer with 16K of memory and full color graphics. Up the line there's our PC-8000, a reasonably priced full system computer with stunning color graphics unmatched in its class. Our PC-8800 offers a standard 64K RAM for programs and data, an optional 16-bit card for expansion, and 60-color high resolution graphics that are truly spectacular. Whatever the job, there's an NEC personal computer that can do it.

No mistake about that.

For further information, send coupon below to:

NEC Home Electronics (U.S.A.), Inc.
Personal Computer Division
1401 Estes Avenue, Elk Grove Village, IL 60007
Tel 312-228-5900

Name _____

Title _____

Company _____

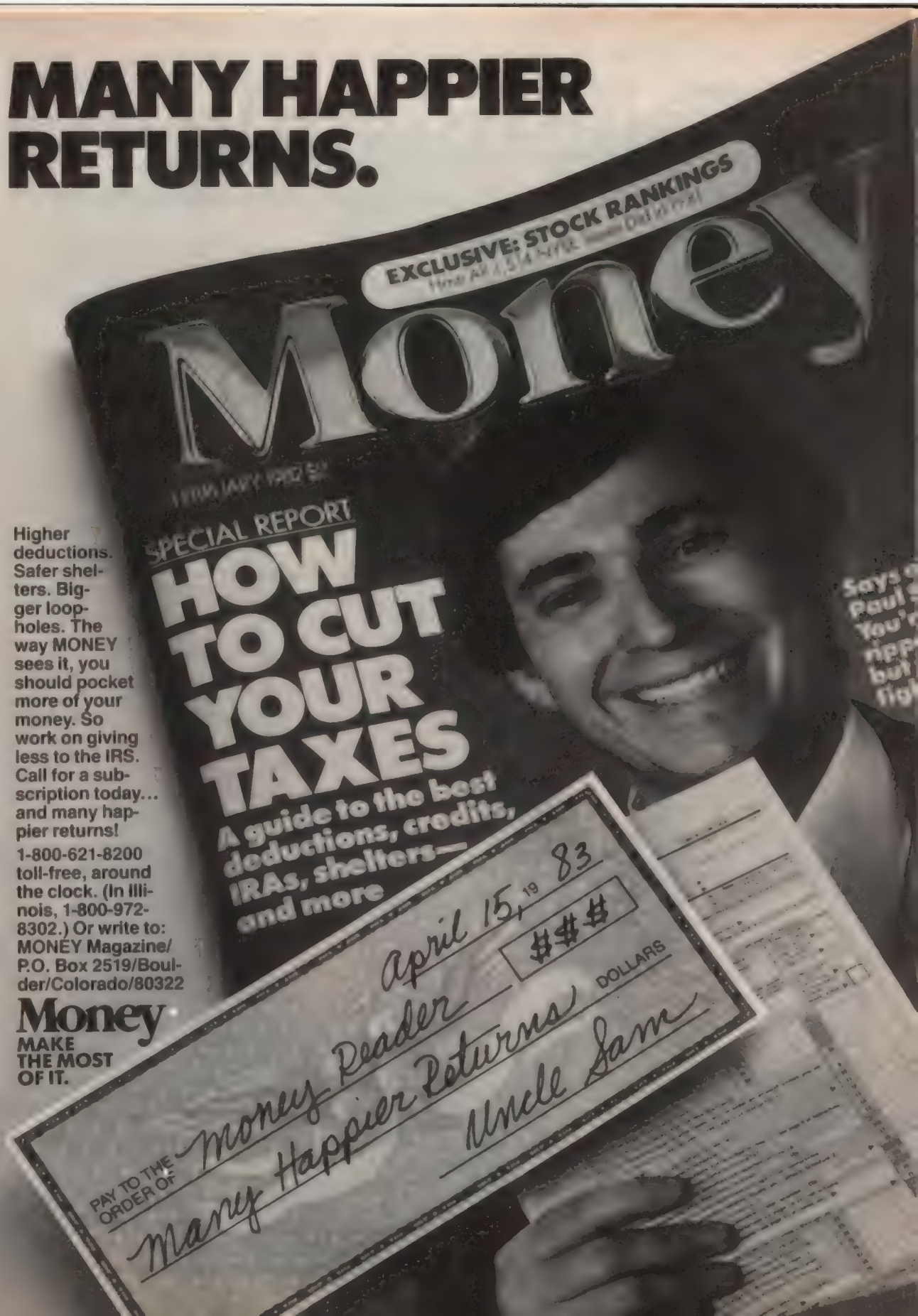
Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

Telephone _____

NEC
Nippon Electric Co. Ltd
Tokyo Japan

MANY HAPPIER RETURNS.



Higher deductions. Safer shelters. Bigger loopholes. The way MONEY sees it, you should pocket more of your money. So work on giving less to the IRS. Call for a subscription today... and many happier returns!

1-800-621-8200 toll-free, around the clock. (In Illinois, 1-800-972-8302.) Or write to: MONEY Magazine/ P.O. Box 2519/Boulder/Colorado/80322

Money
MAKE THE MOST OF IT.

Milestones

MARRIED. William Brennan, 76, U.S. Supreme Court Justice, appointed by President Eisenhower in 1956; and **Mary Fowler,** 68, his secretary for 26 years; in Washington, D.C. Brennan's first marriage of 54 years ended when his wife Marjorie died of cancer 3½ months ago. Colleagues on the court learned of the surprise marriage in a memo last week saying that the newlyweds had left for a honeymoon in Bermuda.

SEEKING DIVORCE. Johnny Carson, 57, master of the *Tonight* show, and **Joanna Carson,** 42, former model; after ten years of marriage (his third, her second), no children; in Los Angeles. Both filed petitions, Johnny stating that they separated Nov. 7, 1982, and Joanna claiming that the separation began March 4, 1983. The date debate is really about money, since the community property their lawyers will divide up may or may not include a chunk of the new multimillion-dollar NBC contract Carson signed late last year.

DIED. Faye Emerson, 65, elegantly groomed, blond-chignoned actress of stage, films but mostly television, who was one of the pioneers of the new medium's late-night interview shows with CBS's classy early 1950s *Faye Emerson's Wonderful Town;* of cancer; in Deyá, Majorca.

DIED. Donald Maclean, 69, British diplomat who with his fellow Cambridge graduate Guy Burgess was at the center of Britain's most infamous spy scandal in the past half-century; of cancer; in Moscow. Recruited at college in the 1930s with his lover Burgess by Anthony Blunt, then a don, Maclean was a mole in the British embassy in Washington, where he had access to highly classified Allied documents, including U.S. atomic secrets. Tipped by another Soviet mole that they were suspected of spying, Maclean and Burgess escaped from England to the U.S.S.R. in 1951. "My God, Maclean knew everything!" exploded then Secretary of State Dean Acheson. A third Cambridge traitor, Harold ("Kim") Philby, remained under cover until 1963, when he too fled to the Soviet Union, the same year that Burgess died. In Moscow, Maclean had an innocuous job with a foreign policy think tank and, always a heavy drinker, died alone in his luxurious apartment. Said a Soviet official: "He had no Russian friends. Nobody likes a turncoat—in any country."

DIED. Igor Markevitch, 70, exacting Russian-born, Swiss-reared conductor who began as a composing prodigy—dubbed Igor II, he was expected to follow in Stravinsky's footsteps—but in 1930 picked up the baton and became best known as a master of conducting precision; after a heart attack; in Antibes, France. Markevitch advocated the use of standardized gestures on the podium, saying, "Baton technique is to a conductor what fingers are to a pianist. Certain movements produce certain sounds."

DIED. Charles ("Rip") **Engle,** 76, head football coach at Pennsylvania State University from 1950 to 1965 who developed the Nittany Lions into one of the nation's toughest teams (104 victories, 48 defeats, four ties); in Bellefonte, Pa. Engle was constantly worried that he would be "humiliated," even though his Penn State squad never had a losing season.

DIED. Ulf von Euler, 78, groundbreaking Swedish physiologist who in the 1930s discovered prostaglandins, the remarkable hormones used in birth control pills, and who was co-winner of the 1970 Nobel Prize in Physiology for his work in detecting noradrenaline, a key neurotransmitter that controls such involuntary actions as the heartbeat and the body's response to stress; of arterial disease; in Stockholm. Von Euler's research led to the identification of a number of so-called transmitter substances, including polypeptides, which appear to be the agents that deliver messages of pain to the brain.

DIED. William Black, 80, iconoclastic founder and chairman of Chock Full O' Nuts Corp.; of cancer; in New York City. Black parlayed a $250 investment in a Broadway nut stand in the 1920s into a $116 million company that rests on a New York City chain of lunch counters, but now does 83% of its business nationally marketing its "heavenly coffee." A philanthropist who gave millions for Parkinson's disease and cancer research, Black was unusually generous with employee benefits—birthdays off with full pay, bonuses for perfect attendance, interest-free loans—and in the past year faced a bitter battle with dissident stockholders to retain control of his company. Speculation is that a new fight will soon begin.

DIED. William Walton, 80, one of the century's major British composers whose relatively small output melded lyricism with contemporary rhythms; of a heart attack; at his home on the island of Ischia, Italy. At 21, Walton scandalized London with his first important work, *Façade,* irreverent musical parodies written to accompany poems by his patron Edith Sitwell. He later turned to more conventional forms, such as the oratorio *Belshazzar's Feast* and his romantic concertos for violin, viola and cello. A slow, painstaking composer who once complained, "A lot of the time music irritates me to madness, especially my own," he nonetheless wrote up to the end; a few days before his death he completed the score for the ballet *Varii Capricci,* which will premiere in New York City next month.

Marta goes to bed hungry every night.

When Marta goes to bed hungry, there's not much hope she can forget all the bad things that have happened to her.

But with your help, there is hope.

Through our sponsorship program, you can help provide a hungry child with nourishing food, clothing, medical attention and schooling. And all it costs is just $18 a month.

And remember, when you help you'll be doing more than nourishing a frail little body. You'll also be nourishing a mind.

Write to: Mrs. Jeanne Clarke Wood
Children, Incorporated, P.O. Box 5381,
Dept. T3M3, Richmond, Va. 23220 USA

☐ I wish to sponsor a boy ☐, girl ☐, in ☐ Asia, ☐ Latin America, ☐ Middle East, ☐ Africa, ☐ USA, ☐ Greatest Need
☐ I will give $18 a month ($216 a year) Enclosed is my gift for a full year ☐, the first month ☐ Please send me the child's name, story, address and picture
☐ I can't sponsor, but will help $ ____
☐ Please send me further information
☐ If for a group, please specify

Church, Civic, Club, School, Business, etc.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

U.S. gifts are fully tax deductible
Annual financial statements are available on request

CHILDREN, INC.

NEW NISSAN SENTRA

Sentra 2-Dr
Deluxe Sedan

YOU NEED THIS CAR!

Sentra 2-Dr
Standard Sedan

Sentra 4-Dr
Deluxe Wagon

Sentra XE
Hatchback Coupe

Sentra 4-Dr
Deluxe Sedan

NISSAN IS PROUD TO SPONSOR ABC TV'S
TELECASTS OF THE 1984 SUMMER OLYMPIC GAMES

© 1981 ABC Inc. "Star In Motion" © 1980 L.A. Olympic Committee

YOU NEED THIS HIGH MILEAGE CAR.

Every Nissan Sentra is an Ultra-Mileage car. No matter which bodystyle you choose, from 2-door coupe to roomy station wagon, you'll enjoy outstanding gas mileage from your Sentra.

50 EST. HWY MPG | **35** EPA EST.* MPG

*Use EPA estimated mpg for comparison; all models shown with standard 5 speed. Actual mpg may differ depending on speed, trip length and weather. Highway mpg will probably be less. California EPA EST. 32 35

If you like your economy with "pep," you need this power.

The new Nissan Sentra is one economy car that can hold its own in the fast lane–the 2-door provides one horsepower for every 22.7 pounds, an excellent ratio. That's because it has the most efficient power-economy engine in Nissan history–a tough, streamlined 1.6 liter engine designed to give you not only outstanding mileage* but mileage that moves!

If you have a family, you need this room: 5-passengers big!

The Nissan Sentra makes Ultra-Mileage very comfortable. More head room, leg room and trunk room than any economy car Nissan has ever built.

If you're a driver who appreciates roadability, you need this engineering.

Front-wheel drive. Fully independent suspension. Rack and pinion steering. Dramatically slippery aerodynamics. Tight turning radius. These are standard credentials of expensive sport cars. They're built into every Nissan Sentra.

Because at Nissan, roadability is not a luxury. It's a necessity.

Nissan Sentra Standard Sedan. You need this price. $4949.†

The Nissan Sentra 2-door sedan is smartly equipped with bucket seats, 5-speed overdrive, transistorized ignition, power-assisted brakes and more–at no extra cost.

If you're an economy car shopper, you need this choice.

There's a whole fleet of Nissan Sentras: 2-door sedans, sporty hatchbacks, 4-door sedans and station wagons. Pick your Ultra-Mileage winner.

If you don't buy a new car every three years, you need this quality.

Nissan Sentra is the latest refinement of 50 years of advanced technology. They're built tight to stay tight. With solid unibody construction. Welded for strength. Tested for durability. Painted virtually everywhere to deter rust. Inspected and checked by quality controllers all the way to your Datsun showroom.

At Nissan, the greatest economy of all is quality.

DATSUN
WE ARE DRIVEN

Product of NISSAN

© 1982 NISSAN MOTOR CORPORATION IN USA

† Mfr's. sugg. retail price excluding tax, title, license and destination charges.

Chilling Out on Rap Flash

New city music brings out the last word in wild style

Def. Definitely def. Definitely def indeed.

It's coming to your town; it may even be there now. Look around. Hooded sweatshirts and cockeyed caps, leather bomber jackets and sheepskin coats heavy enough to bench press. Pristine white sneakers—"kicks" to you, Jim—laced up with byzantine complexity; luxury-label cords and knife-creased jeans; burnished belt buckles that might be police state special issue. Could be the population of the local high school, right? Standard teen-age uniform, right? You're whacked. Look closer, and start uptown. Def thrives at that address.

Def stands for maximum cool, part of the patter of a complex, sometimes convoluted, urban street culture that includes rap music, graffiti art and dancing that goes by a couple of generic styles and several specific names. Like spray-painted murals down the side of a New York City subway, or a ghetto blaster carried on a shoulder broadcasting 130 beats a minute all over a Bronx street, this subculture, nicknamed hip hop, is about assertiveness, display, pride, status and competition, particularly among males. Clothes are not only a part of this offhand cultural statement; they are a kind of uniform for cultural challenge.

Hip hop is black, young and ineffably, unflappably cool: "chilly the most." It also shows signs of traveling well. Groups like The Bronx's Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five tour the country, and some new wave nightspots have devoted evenings to the new street music where post-punkers can check out the sartorial flash of the hip hoppers. There are already rap clubs in London, and last summer's No. 1 song on the German charts was a bit of Euro-rap called *Der Kommissar*.

While the vanguard of this scene may have passed into their 20s, the audience is largely high school. The boys may like to imitate the cocky flash of what a graffiti artist named Phase 2 calls "the stickup kids," but most of them score their clothes as gifts from parents or—goodbye to another bit of downtown mythology—pay for them with money from part-time jobs. Clothes in this culture are seminal enough to work hard for. "People tend to think if you're poor, you're not supposed to have anything," Phase 2 says. "But when you see something you want, you'll hustle up the money, and not everybody hustles reefer to do it, either." Price may not crimp style, but it remains a persistent problem. Says Mira Gandy, 15, who works part time as an usher at a Broadway theater: "I go out with $100 and come back with only three things."

All the attitudes and the looks of black teen-agers have a way of working themselves off the streets and into closets all over town, just as the work of high-fashion designers becomes assimilated into a more generalized style. Fashion does not just waft down to the streets. It also comes up from there. In rap style you find not only a retro-replay of the past and a sometimes ironic comment on it, but also a fast back alley to the future.

The racial and social geography of uptown/downtown applies to any city in America, whatever the size. Uptown and down, there are plenty of racial stereotypes to go around. One that dies particularly hard for downtowners is that when uptown kids dress to chill, they turn themselves out like some wild amalgam of Cab Calloway going for broke and Isaac Hayes going to a go-go. That is inaccurate, but it does have one small home truth: musicians, more than anyone else, set the style, just as, this minute, rap music is setting the beat.

Originating in the South Bronx in the mid-'70s, rap music is a cultural anthropologist's mother lode. It combines musical influences as disparate as disco, George Clinton funk, conventional R & B and Ennio Morricone scores for Italian westerns, cross-pollinates them with the Jamaican disc jockey's art of "toasting" (talking over the instrumental breaks in records) and a street kid's fondness for boasting, synthesizes the results with some distinctly contemporary audio technology and winds up with a sound that invites deejays at local dance palaces to "scratch" the surface. The deejays set the

A fast back alley to the future: turned out in high style, some dance-palace revelers put their best feet forward for a few treach steps while an intrepid

Photographs for TIME by Ted Thai

needle down in the groove of a record, turn the disc back and forth and get weird, repeated percussive effects, then jump quickly to another groove, another record, while some rap groups, called MCs, singsong over the music. The result, besides being danceable and extremely def, is familiar and disorienting at once. Just like the clothes.

One of the premier deejays of the rap scene is Grandmaster Flash, who, with his MCs, the Furious Five, turned out one of 1982's best singles, a seven-minute-long and atypically political number called *The Message*. Flash and the crew are treach, which is short for treacherous and slang for what a decade ago would have been called superfine. Grandmaster favors leathers, tip to toe, and has FLASH spelled out in lightning-bolt letters on the back of his jacket. Mr. Ness, of the Furious Five, favors metal studs, while his compatriot, Melle Mel, currently opts for fur. This is work wear, not street clothing, but Melle Mel knows what message they are putting across. "It gives you a more dominant, primitive look. We dress like this because in a lot of ways people expect us to. The whole principle in rapping is to be No. 1." Flash and the Five learned a fast lesson in fashion and stereotype when they opened for the Clash in May 1981. The crowd was all downtown, mostly white and heavily new wave, and booed the boys when they showed up in their flashy stage duds. The next night, when they wore street clothes onstage, the group was more warmly received.

Flash and the Five sport a wardrobe that goes for a lot of "gusto," money, in straight talk, so their audience would be hard pressed for direct imitation. Like rapper talk, which pulls in language from such diverse sources as '40s hipster, '60s hippie and even cockney rhyming slang (Bed-Stuy, Brooklyn's crime-haunted Bedford-Stuyvesant ghetto, is "Do or Die"), rapper flash is eclectic. The jeans, the leathers, the heavy personalized belt buckles, even the jewelry, are modifications of street-gang uniforms. A lot of the aggressive energy that once went into street fighting now goes into competitive dancing, like "breaking," an elaborate and athletic choreography of splits, handstands, spins, acrobatic turns and assorted outrageous maneuvers. Breaking has already attracted mainstream attention, but uptown it is being overtaken by newer dances, like the Webboe and the Smurf, in which the dancers move with the goofy, ironic precision of the Saturday-morning TV cartoon trolls.

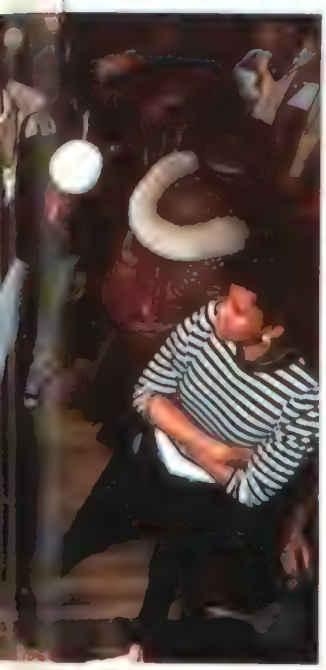
"Fresh" is the ideal now. It stands, figuratively, for stylish, but it literally means clean, new, right. Sneakers without a smudge; jeans unblemished. But there is humor as well as rigor in rap flash. If you think high, knitted ski caps worn at impossible angles are just funny-looking, you only get half the joke. Printed legends like I'D RATHER BE SKIING refer not to snowy slopes but to white mounds of a certain illicit inhalable substance. Greek fisherman hats, or bike-team hats, even shirts with alligator trademarks are worn with what Rap Scene Writer Michael Holman calls "absurd humor." He sees it as a deliberate mockery of the preppie look, of "the powers that be. Sheepskin contradicts the hip hop aesthetic because it's kind of organic, kind of hippie. But it's status-oriented because it's expensive."

Rap dancing, especially breaking, is an essentially male competition, but even in fashion the boys dominate. *Gentlemen's Quarterly* is treach. "Males have more plumage," says Monica Lynch, vice president of Tommy Boy records, a Manhattan rap label. "Guys are out there flashing their stuff, and the girls are usually wearing a watered-down version of what the guys have on. The girls don't want to look all that nasty." Maybe not, but with their penchant for leather pants or layers of Kamali-esque sweatshirtings, they have a sure knowledge of the impact of style. Says Lisa Lee, 19, who raps with Cosmic Force: "If you don't have the right clothes it can give you a bad name. Nobody wants to be with you."

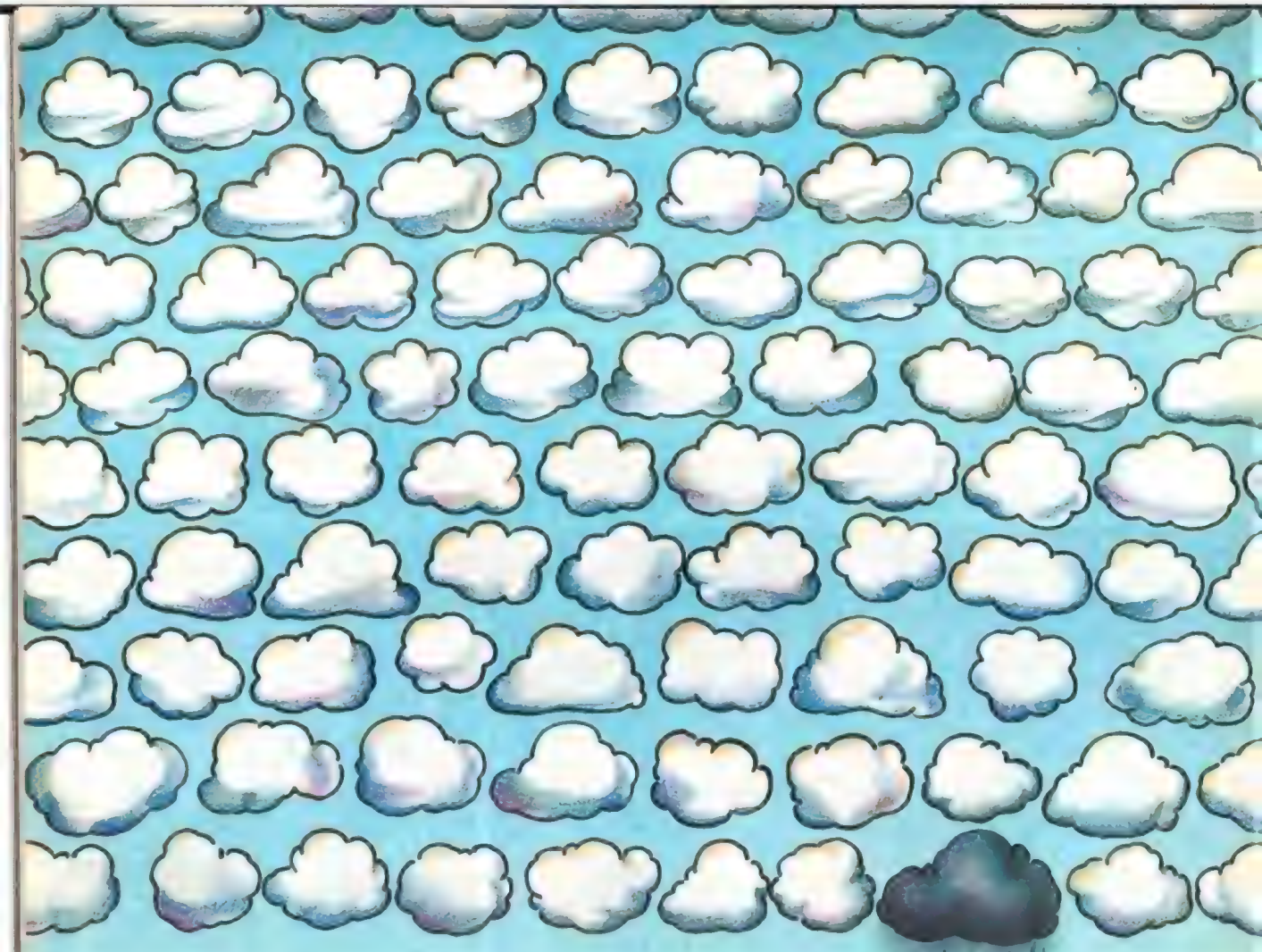
What's right in one neighborhood can be troublesome in another. When a Bronx break dancer named Crazy Legs took a recent trip to Chicago, wearing his hat at a precarious 45° angle, a local told him, "You better not wear your cap that way 'cause you could get hurt. Somebody could think you're a gangster." Still, hip hop has been downtown long enough that stylistic confusion like this is a little less frequent. Every Friday night, crews of rappers make the trip from The Bronx to the lower West Side of Manhattan, where they do their stuff at a roller disco called the Roxy. The crowd there is mostly new bohemian types. They watch with the guilty pleasure of anthropologists visiting *Soul Train*, as rappers pick up on a little new wave style (miniskirts and studs are making a showing in the South Bronx) and make their moves. Downtown, however, there is a palpable difference in the proceedings. "We bring everything here from our neighborhood to put on a show," is the way Crazy Legs explains it. "But uptown it's not a show. It's our way of life."

—By Jay Cocks.

Reported by Stephen Koepp/New York



soul in leather and sheepskin, above, performs a bit of break dancing as two dudes, right, remain resplendent and unruffled on the sidelines

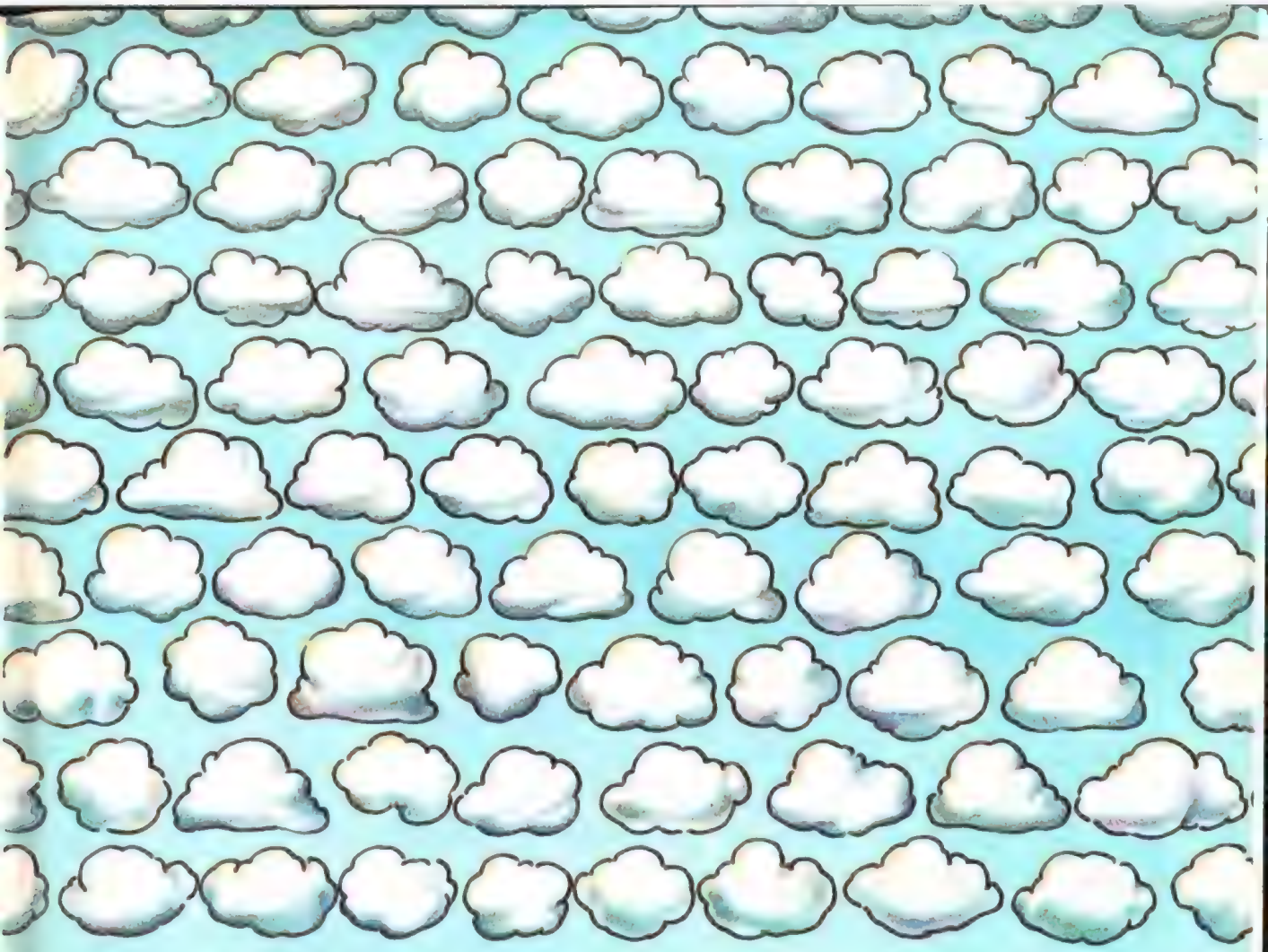


If your failure rate is one in a million, what do you tell your millionth customer?

Millions of parts go into the thousands of machines we build every year. At IBM, we work hard to make sure that everything we make is defect-free, from the smallest circuit to the finished product.

But if an IBM computer or office system ever needs service, we provide our customers with the most experienced and widely skilled service organization in the industry.

IBM customer service people are on call every day of the year for large companies that have many of our machines and small businesses that may have only one.



Our service people can call on computerized data banks where solutions to thousands of hardware and software problems are stored and instantly available to them.

They also work directly with IBM engineers at our laboratories to help design products that need less service and are easier to maintain.

It's all part of our commitment to deliver fast and reliable service to every customer, every time.

Because when it comes to service, we treat every customer as if he or she is one in a million.

IBM

Dividing Gall into Three Parts

THE END OF THE WORLD NEWS *by Anthony Burgess*
McGraw-Hill; 389 pages; $15.95

Anthony Burgess, 66, has gone out on some strong limbs to avoid repeating himself. *Earthly Powers* (1980), for instance, presented an aging homosexual writer trying to secure canonization for his friend, a deceased Pope. In his 26th novel and most bizarre work since *A Clockwork Orange* (1962), the author raises the stakes in his gamble for freshness. *The End of the World News* offers a trio of plots linked by irony and caustic satire.

Burgess describes this fiction as an "entertainment" rather than a novel. In a dust-jacket blurb he announces that the discovery of the unconscious, the possibility of universal socialism and man's ability to live in outer space are the century's "three greatest events." *The End of the World News* (the BBC newsreaders' sign-off phrase) amplifies those themes with a twist, and it is a twist of the dial. Reading, says the author, must reflect the new way of viewing television in the "three-screen family." Therefore his postliterary trilogy is broken into prime-time vignettes.

Sigmund Freud stars in a segment that seems adapted for *Masterpiece Theater*. Brownshirted Nazis burst into the Vienna apartment of the founder of psychoanalysis, growling about "rich dirty Jews." They are cowed by Frau Freud's response: "We're middle-class clean Jews. That is why I ask you to wipe your feet." The master's cures are just as brisk and effective, the ideal length for docu-drama. "You don't want to die," Freud assures a patient, "you want to get back into your mother." From the couch comes the reply, "You're sure?" The doctor is, and one visit later, so is his patient.

In Burgess's eyes, Freud is a Victorian Job, plagued by the doctrinal defections of Carl Jung, Otto Rank and his own daughter Anna. The therapist's love of cigars, which contribute to the carcinoma that kills him, is analyzed by Jung. The Swiss tells Freud's mother that Sigmund's smoking is "sheer devotion . . . to you, *gnädige Frau*."

On another channel, Leon Trotsky visits New York City in 1917 to rouse the American proletariat. Burgess tells this story in the form of a libretto for a Broadway musical, complete with lyrics. Trotsky falls for Olga, a hardheaded party worker, while his wife cavorts with a wealthy socialist. Four hearts beat as one until the revolutionary's son is reported missing. Trotsky's life is changed forever when he is reunited with the boy, and the songs turn as sentimental as the story. At the finale, the hero chants, "Family's first,/ Love is completeness./ Power's a burnt-out star./ To redeem with sweetness/ The cursed/ Things we all are,/ Family's first—/ By far!"

Anthony Burgess: "Warm, wayward, imperfect, adaptable"

A different kind of burnout looms over the Commonwealth of the Democratic Americas in A.D. 2000, as Burgess plays with a well-known science fiction theme. An iron-heavy planet, code-named Lynx, threatens to vaporize the earth in this third and most complete tale. Valentine Brodie, a jittery, lustful, heavy-drinking young "future fiction" writer, is to accompany a space ark populated by an elite, computer-selected group of scientists and thinkers. They have been chosen to carry civilization to the next world. Brodie, like Freud, is fond of cigars, panatellas called Solzhenitsyns. He is also fond of a fat, fast-talking actor named Willett. At a last dance high above the flooded streets of Manhattan, Brodie decides to go down with the earth: "Faces sweated in candleshine, bodies swung, turned, swayed . . . To hell with that cold contrived . . . spaceship horror."

But in a sober moment, he decides that Willett is Falstaff and that he, Brodie, is Prince Hal, about to come of age. What better place to reach maturity than on a spaceship traveling for light-years? With the help of a couple of Mafia gunsels and a casino owner named Dashiel Gropius, the "futfic" author assumes command of the spaceship as it blasts into the galactic void. In the infinity that awaits, Val will be a "being warm, wayward, imperfect, adaptable."

That description could serve the author of these tales as well. After blast-off, the fictional narrator who has combined the "televisualized" Freud, the tin-pan Trotsky and the Shakespearean *Star Trek* starts to muse. In the future, as in the past, he decides, only one question has real pertinence: What aspects of civilization are worth carrying on? One implicit answer: the ability to wring harmony from dissonance, to create a work of the imagination from disparate and unpromising materials. Example: *The End of the World News*, a trio made from the detritus of history and sci-fi.

True, the author has abused his poetic license; he is often perverse for perversity's sake, and he can be more outrageous than illuminating. Even so, he has produced a highly original volume—his 41st book in 27 years. Carry on, Burgess. —*By J.D. Reed*

Excerpt

"'A lover of my fellow creatures, a mere nameless worker for the cause—I aspire to be no more. In none of the textbooks of socialism is human affection expressly forbidden.'

'Is,' asks Vol, 'human affection part of the substructure or of the superstructure?'

'That will have to be worked out,' Trotsky says. 'Comrade Stalin is good at that sort of thing.'

Chud says: 'I fear, Lev Davidovich, I fear—'

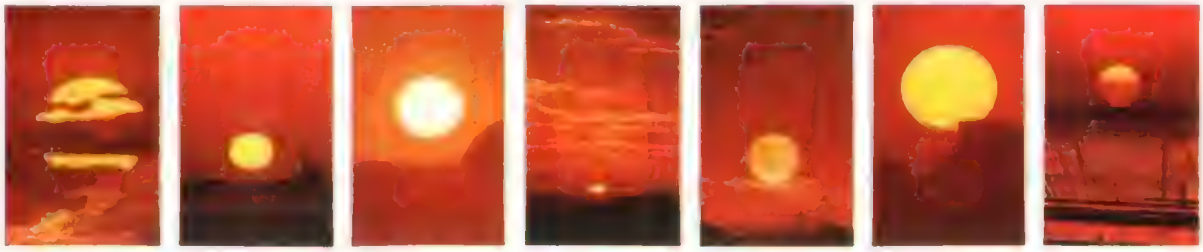
'Fear Comrade Stalin? What nonsense.'

'I fear that you will be absorbed by this city and its decadent culture. What shall we tell them in Russia? That Trotsky, comrades, has become a New Yorker?'

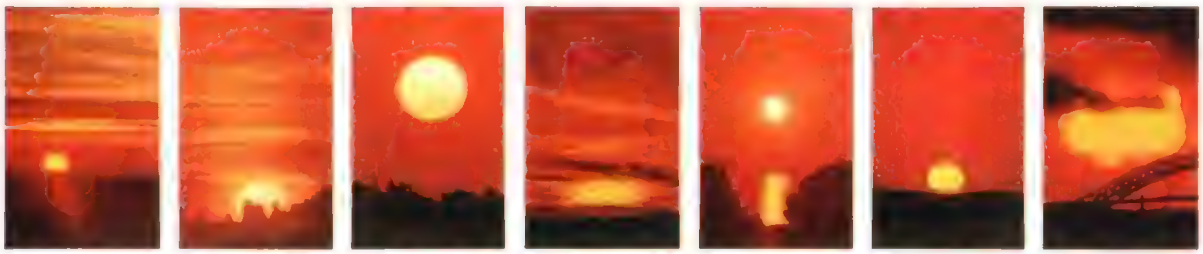
'No no no,' Trotsky says. 'There's a dynamic contradiction in me, altogether healthy. Let me put it this way.' He sings: . . .

The pretzels are as salty
As in Petrograd,
The elevators faulty,
The drains as bad.
The women are striking
But the workers not.
I am liking the
women a lot."

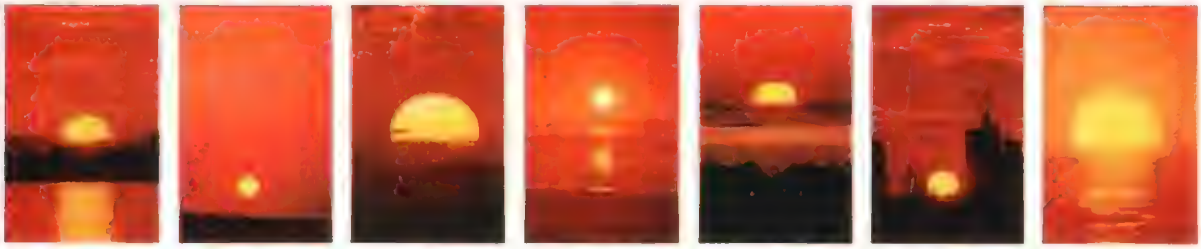
SUN MON TUE WED THURS FRI SAT



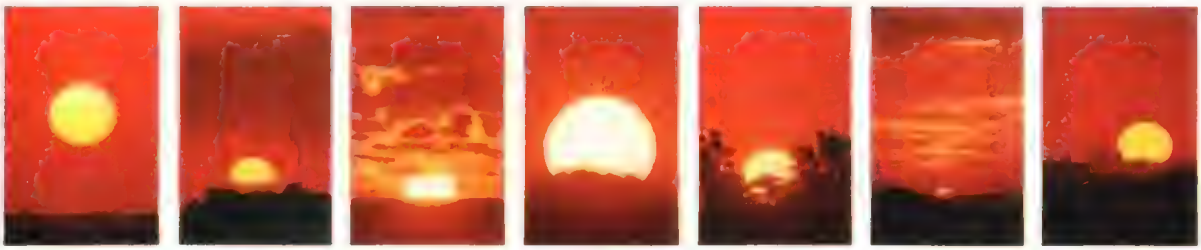
1 2 3 4 5 6 7



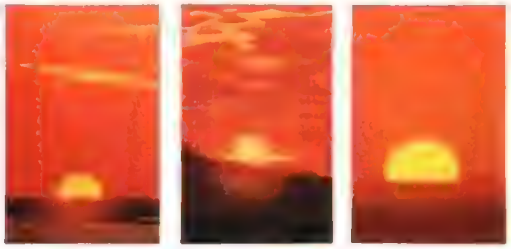
8 9 10 11 12 13 14



15 16 17 18 19 20 21



22 23 24 25 26 27 28

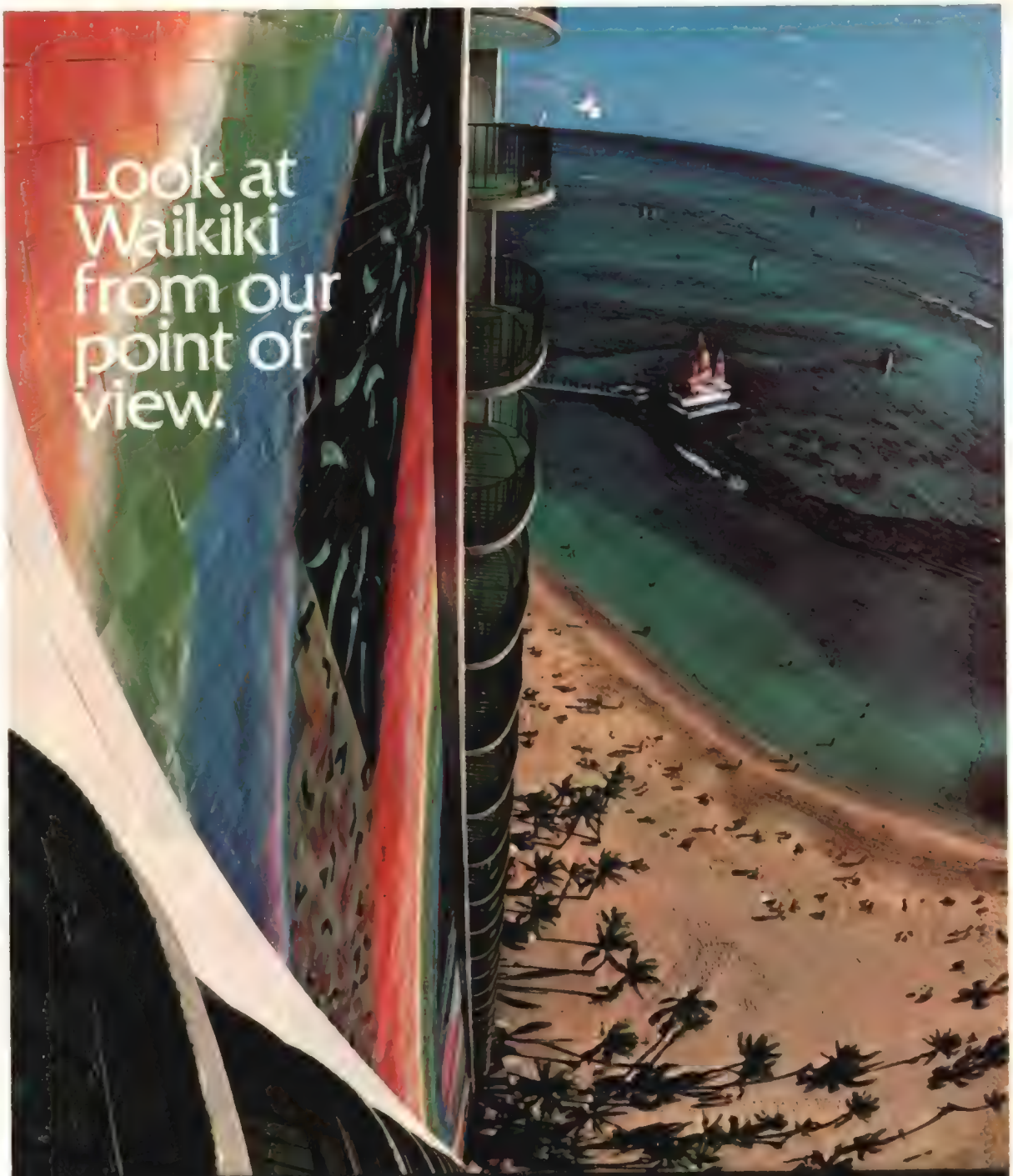


29 30 31

WOULDN'T IT BE WONDERFUL
IF EVERY BIRTHDAY
THIS MONTH
ENDED WITH RED.

GIVE JOHNNIE WALKER® RED
SEND IT ANYWHERE IN THE U.S.A.
CALL 1-800-528-6148

ITS DISTINCT TASTE MAKES IT THE WORLD'S BEST SELLING SCOTCH



On the edge of Waikiki you'll find a whole world inside a Village. The Hilton Hawaiian Village. You can spend your entire vacation here and never miss a thing.

A spacious beach, catamaran cruises and an ocean full of excitement are just out the door. A Rainbow Bazaar full of exotic shops features treasures from throughout the Pacific and the Orient. And eight restaurants assure you a variety of superb cuisine, not to mention the spectacular Don Ho Polynesian Review.

All the wonder of Waikiki is just steps away. But wait till you see it from our point of view. The Hilton Hawaiian Village. A world apart.

HILTON HAWAIIAN VILLAGE

Call your local Hilton Reservation Service or your Travel Agent.

SANDRA CURRY: Wife, mother; businesswoman; Certified Shotgun, Pistol and Home Firearms Responsibility Instructor; Life Member of the National Rifle Association.

"My husband and I hunt almost every weekend during the season. It brings us closer together because we both share a love for the outdoors. Being a member of the NRA is like belonging to a large family. We are people who share common interests like environmental conservation and wildlife preservation.

"Some of the people I know can't believe I'm involved in the shooting sports. They all say, 'You don't look like the type.' I don't know what the 'type' looks like, but I'm a lady at the office and on the range.

"When I shoot, I'm always concerned with safety and I have my NRA training to thank for that. The NRA Education and Training Division provides valuable information on almost everything. I don't know of any other organization that does so much to promote firearms safety."

I'm the NRA.

The NRA emphasizes firearms safety in all of the courses it sponsors — from the beginning marksmanship and "Home Firearms Responsibility" courses to the more advanced coach certification courses. If you would like to join the NRA and want more information about our programs and benefits, write Harlon Carter, Executive Vice President, P.O. Box 37484, Dept. SC-27, Washington, D.C. 20013

Paid for by the members of the National Rifle Association of America.

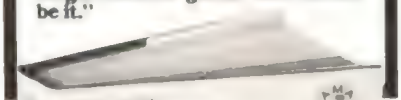
A *different* kind of medical breakthrough!

When more than 100,000 Americans turn a hefty, 832-page medical guide into the standout best seller in its field, *in six short months*, a publisher may be forgiven for feeling genuine pride at the accomplishment.

The *only* home medical guide bearing the imprimatur of the American Medical Association, this is the most authoritative, useful, and reliable family medical reference book ever published.

It covers more than 650 diseases and disorders and includes 1,350 photos, drawings and diagrams (130 in full color), plus 162 pages of unique *Self Diagnosis Symptom Charts*. (Available in no other medical reference today, these *Self Diagnosis Symptom Charts* let you systematically determine the underlying causes for a given symptom—and tell you *immediately* whether you can self-treat an illness or whether you should see your doctor.)

THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION FAMILY MEDICAL GUIDE has become America's newest ally in the fight for good health. Examine it now at your bookstore—and you'll see why *House & Garden* hailed it as **"a medical must—no home should be without it"** and why *Newsday* said **"if you are going to have a single medical guide, this should be it."**



THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION FAMILY MEDICAL GUIDE

$29.95, now at your bookstore, or send check or money order to Random House Mail Service, Dept. 11 2 T AMA, 201 E. 50th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10022 (Please add applicable sales tax.) **Or to order by phone, call toll free (credit cards only): 800-638-6460**

RANDOM HOUSE

HARVEST

From good earth to dust bowl.
In 40 years, America's heartland could lie parched and barren. TIME uncovered why one of the richest agricultural areas in the world is running out of water. The impact of this shortage is already being felt by our farmers, and soon it may be felt by all of us. Week after week, TIME gives you more than news and information. It brings insight and understanding to subjects that matter to you.

Read TIME and understand. TIME

Rag and Bone

VERY MUCH A LADY
by Shana Alexander
Little, Brown; 316 pages; $17.50

Three years after Jean Harris fired four bullets into Herman Tarnower, the case of the headmistress and the diet doctor still has the power to engage our imagination. The public's appetite for details of the murder trial had been whetted by the social standing of the protagonists, as Diana Trilling pointed out in her brilliant 1981 study, *Mrs. Harris*. But the abiding fascination of the case resides in the story of the high-minded, stylish lady who descended to the depths of self-abasement and violence.

Although outdistanced by Trilling's earlier effort, Journalist Shana Alexander has lavished her considerable reportorial skills on *Very Much a Lady*, interviewing hundreds of people who knew the doctor and his lover. Alexander has emerged with a portrait of Harris' selfish, hard-hearted, authoritarian father that goes far to explain her longstanding tolerance of Tarnower's ill-treatment. The author acknowledges a sense of identification with Harris ("she reminds me of me"). But that partisanship does not prevent her from leading the reader through every squalid stage of Harris' 14-year affair with Tarnower. The Scarsdale physician, the son of humble Jewish immigrants, was a relentless social climber, impressed by the gracious airs and cultivated ways of the classy, Waspish headmistress. Soon, however, he reneged on his proposal to marry her and embarked on a series of affairs. All the while, he kept Harris on the leash she handed him.

As Harris vied with her principal rival, Lynne Tryforos, for pride of place in the Tarnower household, there were some nasty incidents. Harris received mysterious, obscene phone calls. She telephoned Tryforos every night for a month. The women alternated in sharing Tarnower's bed and left their belongings in his bathroom. Harris repeatedly tossed out Tryforos' curlers. A favorite dress of Harris' was found smeared with excrement. Harris whined and wheedled as her feelings fluctuated between jealous rage and obsessive dependence. By the time she entered the doctor's bedroom for the last time, a gun in one hand and a bunch of flowers in the other, she had truly descended into what Yeats called "the foul rag-and-bone shop of the heart."

Alexander's most provocative discovery concerns Harris' mental state. She was diagnosed as psychotic after the killing, but her condition had long been aggravated by large daily doses of Desoxyn. Tarnower had prescribed the amphetamine for her even though the manufacturer warns against its long-term use because of the risk of psychosis.

Alexander argues persuasively that the failure of Harris' lawyer, Joel Aurnau, to plead "extreme emotional disturbance"

It'll feel better in a Volkswagen.

Why? Because every Volkswagen is built for high speed performance so there is much more directional control engineered into a Volkswagen than in a conventional car.

Nothing else is a Volkswagen.

The Boeing 757 is ahead of the pack and pulling away. In passenger comfort, it feels like a wide-body. In performance, it is the most fuel-efficient jetliner in the sky. This means airlines can continue to offer air travel as the world's best travel value.

BOEING

WINE & FOOD

Cabernet Sauvignon

Cabernet Sauvignon is the unrivaled King of California wine grapes.

The distinction is well deserved for it was this magnificent varietal that first put California on the world map of wine. A native of Bordeaux, the wines produced of this grape have, for centuries, been among the world's finest and most enduring.

WINE

As with all heartier red wines, Cabernet Sauvignon must be properly aged to be at its best. When fully mature, a deep aromatic bouquet typically is followed by round, full flavors suggesting berries and herbs, warm earthy flavors, rich in varietal character. Velvety smooth in texture, it is a gentle giant of a wine.

Recognized for its excellence, our gold medal winning 1977 Proprietor's Reserve Cabernet Sauvignon

is classic in its composition and sufficiently aged to be entirely enjoyable now.

FOOD

Traditionally, a wine as full bodied and flavorful as Cabernet Sauvignon is served with dishes of beef or venison, hearty stews, cheeses and rich pastas.

In our home we enjoy Cabernet with a wide variety of foods. One I'm especially fond of is our own *Eagle Ranch Roast*, a wine country dish developed by my wife Vicki. Generously seasoned with olive oil, garlic and rosemary, this complex layering of flavors would overpower a wine of lesser body and character.

If you would enjoy sampling some of Vicki's recipes and learning more about wine, please write to the address below for your free brochure, "Wine and Food: Cabernet Sauvignon" a collection of family favorites uniquely compatible with this King of California Wines.

Discover Sebastiani Vineyards, a family winery in the Sonoma Valley.

Sam J. Sebastiani

Sebastiani Vineyards, Dept. K, P.O. Box AA, Sonoma, CA 95476

©1982 SEBASTIANI VINEYARDS

Books

Jean Harris

Fluctuating between rage and dependence.

was one in a series of wrong decisions that resulted in a hopeless case for the defense. Aurnau declared that he would settle for nothing but acquittal on the ground that the killing had been a "tragic accident." The jury remained unconvinced.

Essentially, Alexander sees Harris as a victim of circumstance. Indeed, the writer's gift for vivid reportage has made her subject's past exploitation and present plight (a 15-year minimum prison sentence) extremely compelling. Still, Alexander's unforgettable description of the shooting serves as a reminder of another victim. Whether Harris' killing of Tarnower was accidental, unintentional in her conscious mind, or willful, as the jury decided, remains a tantalizing mystery. But it is a mystery with real bullets and a real corpse. —*By Patricia Blake*

Notable

AFTER LONG SILENCE
by Michael Straight
Norton; 351 pages; $17.50

Upstairs in the nursery, little Michael Straight plays with his fire engine. Below, in his family's Fifth Avenue town house, a guest, Joseph Conrad, reads from one of his novels. In this tortured memoir, Straight, 66, wonders what work the author recited. He rather hopes it was *Under Western Eyes*, the story of Razumov, a young man who betrays an older student and loses his soul in the process

From time to time, Conrad's name is loudly dropped in order to underline the supposed resemblance between Razumov and Straight. But there are more pertinent names, among them Guy Burgess, Donald Maclean and Sir Anthony Blunt. Straight, the son of wealthy Americans, meets most of them at Cambridge, where, smitten by brilliant, romantic chatter about revolution, he joins a small Communist cell. Back in the U.S., he signs on at the State Department, slipping his memorandum about Hitler's armaments to a Soviet con-

It'll feel better in a Volkswagen.

Why? Because every Volkswagen hands its driver the kind of sophisticated steering, brakes, and suspension geometry that is always envied often copied, but seldom duplicated in any car at any price

Seatbelts save lives

Nothing else is a Volkswagen.

The Boeing 757 is ahead of the pack and pulling away. In passenger comfort, it feels like a wide-body. In performance, it is the most fuel-efficient jetliner in the sky. This means airlines can continue to offer air travel as the world's best travel value.

BOEING
Getting people together

There Is Only One.

Still the only cigarette that delivers the taste of 'Enriched Flavor'™ smoking.

It broke all the traditional rules of cigarette-making by concentrating on the tobacco end–not the filter end–of smoking.

MERIT. The cigarette that made history by delivering the taste of leading brands having up to twice the tar.

It's the one and only 'Enriched Flavor'™ cigarette.

We made it for you.

Nothing halfway about it.

MERIT

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

© Philip Morris Inc. 1982

7 mg "tar," 0.5 mg nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Dec.'81

Books

tact before dropping out of espionage and politics to write novels and occasional magazine pieces. One afternoon in 1963, Straight makes a full confession to the FBI. The revelation leads to the exposure of Blunt, although he is not publicly unmasked for more than a decade. When Sir Anthony meets the finger man he says blandly, "We always wondered how long it would be before you turned us in."

The spies apparently never took Straight very seriously, and it is equally difficult for the reader to grant the author much moral stature. Straight's belated *mea culpa* has the character of an afterthought: treason had long since been done. Through this self-dramatizing reminiscence, another book of Conrad's suggests itself. A profound pity the author did not learn from *Lord Jim*, with its irrefutable observation: "Vanity plays lurid tricks with our memory."

TEMPLE
by Robert Greenfield
Summit; 411 pages; $15.95

The name is new, but the farce is familiar: a young man returns home to rage against the Jewish culture he left behind. *Portnoy's Complaint* is the prototype; Bruce Jay Friedman's *A Mother's Kisses* and Mordecai Richler's *St. Urbain's Horseman* bear a strong family resemblance. So does Robert Greenfield's *Temple*, but the author's energy is so abundant that the entire genre seems revitalized. The protagonist, Paulie Bindle, is a Harvard Square dropout who quits a bookstore job to journey back to his Jewish roots in New York. Those roots no longer run deep. The women of the community find more solace at Toni's beauty salon than they do at the synagogue, where the rabbi spreads false rumors of an Arab attack on Israel so that the congregation will give larger donations. A tape machine secretly records the pledges so that promises will be kept. The vulgarities of the temple's Las Vegas Night, of gossip and conflict are mercilessly observed by Paulie, who overhears everything and forgives nothing. More affected by the songs of James Brown than the sermons of the rabbi, Paulie ends his quest at a church, not as a convert but simply as another kind of refugee, haunted by an ethos he can neither take nor leave.

Greenfield is something of a tape recorder himself, registering every inflection and hypocrisy. Paulie mimics an indulgent father: "*Clothes?* Certainly, darling. *A nice, expensive, out-of-town college?* Name one, sweetheart, and I'll get you right in. *A diaphragm?* Of course, precious. I'll ask your mother to pick one up for you on the avenue while she's out shopping." Greenfield's oscillation between third and first person is singular without being wholly successful, but he manages that most difficult recipe: a blend of acrimony, humor, regret and hope. Soothing it's not; memorable it is. ■

It'll feel better in a Volkswagen.

Why? Because every Volkswagen is built to perform in a country where some roads are unblemished macadam masterpieces allowing unlimited speed, and others are little more than 18th Century goat paths.

Nothing else is a Volkswagen.

The Boeing 757 is ahead of the pack and pulling away. In passenger comfort, it feels like a wide-body. In performance, it is the most fuel-efficient jetliner in the sky. This means airlines can continue to offer air travel as the world's best travel value.

BOEING
Getting people together

95 calories
never tasted
so
imported.
IMPORTED
AMSTEL
light
95 CALORIES
Van Munching & Co., Inc., New York, N.Y.
Exclusive importers of Amstel Light

Theater

Makarova, playing a tempestuous ballerina, and De la Peña in a comic dance

High Stepper

ON YOUR TOES
Music by Richard Rodgers
Lyrics by Lorenz Hart
Book by Rodgers and Hart and George Abbott

In 1936, when it was the hit of the season, *On Your Toes* was considered daring, the play that introduced serious dance to the Broadway musical. What was startling then is customary now, and there is only one surprise in this splendid revival, which opened on Broadway last week. It is the unexpected pleasure of seeing how well the old girl has aged and hearing once again some of the loveliest songs that ever bounced off a second balcony.

But considering the talents that went into the original, how could it be otherwise? Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart were at the peak of their collaboration; George Abbott directed; and George Balanchine did the choreography, most notably the 20-minute jazz ballet *Slaughter on Tenth Avenue*. Rodgers and Hart are gone, and Balanchine is ill. But Abbott, now 95, has returned to direct one of the liveliest revivals in years.

The show's book, let it be said immediately, is silly and dated, constructed of material not strong enough to be considered flimsy. Junior Dolan, the son of two vaudeville dancers, leaves the act, goes to school, and eventually becomes a music professor. As the story gets under way, he tries to persuade a famous Russian ballet company to perform a modern dance by one of his students, *Slaughter on Tenth Avenue*. The inevitable complications ensue. The prima ballerina (Natalia Makarova) makes advances. Poor Frankie Frayne, Junior's true love, despairs. The ballet's impresario discovers the professor's terrible secret—that he lives to dance—and talks him into starring in the climactic number himself.

Slight as it is, the plot is yet sturdy enough for Rodgers and Hart to hang on it half a dozen of their most charming songs. *There's a Small Hotel* is the best known, but there are also the bittersweet *Glad to Be Unhappy*, the witty *Too Good for the Average Man*, the wise and worldly *The Heart Is Quicker Than the Eye* and the bluesy *Quiet Night*.

Abbott's new cast is, for the most part, excellent, and in one case it is inspired. The inspiration is Makarova, who turns out to be not only a great ballerina but a gifted comedian. As the tempestuous Vera Baronova, she is both sexy and sly, and her delivery of a line is droll and almost always unpredictable. It is hard to tell whether she is acting or merely enjoying herself, but in the end it scarcely matters. Her zest is infectious and leaps across the footlights. In other major parts, Christine Andreas is a touching, warm-voiced Frankie, George S. Irving is an amusing impresario, Dina Merrill is silkily elegant as the ballet's rich sponsor, and George de la Peña is convincing as Makarova's partner and lover.

There are a few disappointments. Lara Teeter, who plays Junior Dolan, sings and dances well enough, but he does not have the personality to carry such a large and important part. *Slaughter on Tenth Avenue*, the main number, looks oddly scratchy, and Balanchine's hand is clearly missing. Such faults, however, are far from catastrophic and, given the show's assets, weigh less than they otherwise might. *On Your Toes* is no longer a pioneer, but it offers something rarely encountered on Broadway these days: guaranteed enjoyment. —*By Gerald Clarke*

Silent Night

MARCEL MARCEAU ON BROADWAY

No Beckett, no carrots, almost no gloom, but surreal Acts Without Words nonetheless. Scene: a bare Broadway stage. Standing, center, a man a week shy of 60 but supple as a teen-ager, lean in tights, innocent in whiteface.

The man, Marcel Marceau, making his first Manhattan appearance since 1975, does not speak. He is Everyman, and his stage is Everywhere. He mimes timeless little stories, occasionally tinged with rueful reflections of contemporary life. He calls a dating service in search of a companion, and is sent a dozen of them, so diversely demanding that he flees his home.

Aided by apprentices, the man makes beautiful images. After a banner unfolds to announce THE PICKPOCKET'S NIGHTMARE, the man stands between two screens, and mystically his arms and hands elongate, detach from his body, swim through air. As the dying light turns them orange like giant goldfish, six hands wriggle, free in space.

The man seeks laughter, as a train rider so jolted he pops his grapes into his seat mate's mouth, and tears, as a soldier whose trench mate dies in his arms. The man loves symbols. He slides his hands across his face, as if trying on masks. His expression changes quickly, precisely, but never subtly: it is a childlike grin, or a petulant frown, or a quivering rage. In another moment, the man is a sculptor, chiseling a massive imaginary block until it becomes a miniature, a fragment, then dust. Slow fade, then, to emphasize that this is a self-conscious metaphor for the man's own meticulous, minimal art. —*By William A. Henry III*

Marceau: Everyman on center stage

Self-conscious metaphors, meticulous art

When "News" Is Almost a Crime

In Alabama, a TV station gets a story that no one should want

The call was the kind that every TV news director dreads: a despondent person demanding the attention of a camera, and an audience, for one last desperate act. On scant notice and even scanter knowledge, the TV executive must decide whether the threat is news to be covered, or a cruel, senseless display that the cameras will only encourage. The voice on the telephone said, "If you want to see somebody set himself on fire, be at the square in Jacksonville in ten minutes."

On duty that quiet Friday night in the newsroom of WHMA-TV, Channel 40, the only TV station in Anniston, Ala. (pop. 29,500), were a woman office worker and Photographer Ronald Simmons, 30, and Sound Technician Gary Harris, 18. Both men had been up since early morning covering a high school basketball tournament.

Thrust into something they had never imagined would be part of their working lives, they told themselves the call might be a hoax. But they telephoned police. That decision was right. Almost everything that followed went tragically wrong. WHMA got its story—one of the more horrifying minutes of video footage ever recorded. The nation, and especially its journalists, got a troubling case study that prompted an overdue debate about whether some stories are worth getting.

The caller was Cecil Andrews, 37, an unemployed roofer and day laborer who had a history of instability. On the night he telephoned his threat or plea to WHMA, he was staggering drunk. Andrews was apparently near the Jacksonville square (actually, a green rectangle bordered by shops and the city's police and fire stations) when he phoned the TV newsroom three times within half an hour. He was there when Simmons and Harris arrived and set up their lights and camera, more than an hour after Andrews' original call. The police insist that they and volunteer firemen combed the area, but were unable to spot any sign of a potential suicide. They dispersed minutes before the news crew arrived.

What followed was the gruesome result of lapses in communication and judgment. The station, which had alerted the police four separate times, contends it had worked out a deal to use the camera as "bait" to draw the troubled caller out of hiding so that police could apprehend him. Police Chief Paul Locke, 35, however, says there was no such deal. In any case, Simmons and Harris failed to notify the police of their arrival on the scene, an omission that both sides termed disastrous. Says Chief Locke: "I am very critical of their behavior."

The next moments in the unnerving story are recorded on a videotape that WHMA showed in edited form on its news the following evening. By the end of last week, excerpts from it had been seen by tens of millions of Americans on the nightly news shows of CBS, NBC and ABC. Andrews came up to the camera crew. They stalled him, briefly, then set the camera rolling as he struck a match and touched it to his chest, which he had doused with lighter fluid. The match went out. He touched another match to his leg. That too went out. He stumbled a few steps toward the lighter fluid, splashed more on, returned to the camera, squatted and touched another match to his left thigh. A tiny glow appeared, then spread.

Too late. Harris burst forward, dropping his role of impassive observer to bat at the flames. Andrews fell, rose and lurched away, a human fireball. A volunteer fireman, still near by after the failed search, extinguished the flame seconds later. But Andrews had inflicted second- and third-degree burns over half his body. His condition at week's end: fair.

When the story came to national attention, Simmons and Harris found themselves pilloried in front of millions of TV viewers, as fellow journalists demanded: Why did you stand by as Andrews spent 37 seconds trying to burn himself, before moving to stop it? Looking shell shocked, the two men insisted they had been let down by the police. Said Harris: "My conscience is clear." Added Simmons: "My job is to record events as they happen."

Off camera, TV news leaders condemned the judgment of WHMA's news director, Phillip Cox, 30, in permitting his staff to tell a troubled person, or police, that the station would send a crew. Dean Mell, news director at KHQ-TV in Spokane, Wash., and president of the national Radio-Televi-sion News Directors Association, said, "My crew would not be a tool of the police department in 'smoking out' a man. And to set up the cameras, provoking an incident, is absolutely unethical." Fred Friendly, a Columbia Journalism School professor and former president of CBS News, said, "I fault the station for putting it on air just because they had it, not because it had redeeming social value. That amounts to voyeurism."

Edward Joyce, vice president of CBS News, of which WHMA is an affiliate, was more gentle. Said he: "This was a situation where one had to be human first and professional second. We have guidelines: where the presence of the camera could provoke danger, put the camera away." WHMA had no such guidelines although, News Director Cox said, it had "an unwritten policy to involve police in matters like this."

The station stood by Simmons and Harris. Said General Manager Harry Mabry: "There have been serious discussions, but no threat of firing." Mabry added that he hoped to organize a seminar on cooperation with law-enforcement officials. But broad questions remained. The TV news camera has become a stage for terrorist theatrics and sick personal melodramas. The guidelines that stations need would tell when not to cover a story, when not to negotiate with a deranged person, when not to treat an appalling but meaningless event as if it were news. TV executives must think through those issues. Even the smallest station, like the one in Anniston, may be forced to confront the largest ethical dilemmas.

By William A. Henry III. Reported by Richard Bruns/New York and B.J. Phillips/Jacksonville

Fiery footage, above, WHMA's Simmons, left, and Mabry

A small station faces big questions of reportorial ethics.

Going Gentle into That Good Night

Do suicide manuals help create a bias toward death?

"There is only one prospect worse than being chained to an intolerable existence: the nightmare of a botched attempt to end it." So Arthur Koestler wrote in his 1981 preface to *A Guide to Self-Deliverance*, a suicide manual distributed to the 8,000 members of the British Voluntary Euthanasia Society. When the famed 77-year-old writer (*Darkness at Noon*), who suffered from Parkinson's disease, decided two weeks ago that his life was intolerable, he reportedly swallowed the finely calibrated dose of drugs prescribed by the society. Sharing the fatal potion was his wife Cynthia, 55, who apparently believed she could not endure life without him. When police found the Koestlers in their London town house, husband and wife were seated in an upstairs room, in a macabre tableau of family death.

For the growing number of proponents of "self-deliverance," the Koestlers' suicides seemed to epitomize the "gentle, easy" death celebrated by the Voluntary Euthanasia Society and 18 similar groups that have sprung up in Europe, Asia, Australia and the U.S. Still, the sensational case raised some disturbing ethical questions about suicide pacts in particular and, more generally, about the fast-growing movement that aims to facilitate the suicide of the terminally ill.

Did Koestler have a moral obligation to dissuade his apparently healthy wife from ending her life? Are organizations like the Voluntary Euthanasia Society encouraging suicide by presenting the act as dignified, respectable, even attractive? Koestler's effusion in the how-to book for which he wrote the preface was characteristic of the movement's publications: "The prospect of falling peacefully, blissfully asleep is not only soothing but can make it positively desirable to quit this pain-racked mortal frame."

Though the notes the couple left behind to explain their action have not yet been made public, close friends in Britain believe Koestler was the dominant partner. Said one physician who knew the couple well: "My guess is that she did not take a leading role but that Koestler said, 'The time has come.'" U.S. Psychiatrist Herbert Hendin, author of a 1982 study, *Suicide in America*, points out that in suicide-pact cases he has studied, a common factor is coercion, usually by the man. Says Hendin: "There is a tendency for suicidal people to say that what is a solution for them is a solution for others."

The suicide guide that Koestler promoted, like other how-to suicide manuals published in the U.S., Scotland and The Netherlands, was designed only for the use of hopelessly sick people, with the express purpose of reducing, as the British guide puts it, "the incidence of unsuccessful attempts." *A Guide to Self-Deliverance* is heart-wrenching reading. The manual stresses that suicide should be a last resort for those in intractable pain. It then offers the exact doses of drugs that will ensure death. The manual recommends that the drugs be used in combination with other methods, such as plastic garbage bags and auto exhaust. If the prescriptions are carefully followed, the end will presumably be painless and "the body when found should simply look dead and not disgusting." Because of the more than 20 known or suspected cases of suicide attributable to the *Self-Deliverance* manual, including that of a physically healthy 22-year-old music student, Britain's Attorney General is currently seeking to have the high court declare the booklet illegal on the ground that it violates a law that forbids helping a would-be suicide.

U.S., British and French manuals of the growing movement for "self-deliverance" and assisted suicide

In the U.S., assisting a suicide is a crime, but under the First Amendment, how-to manuals may be published. Thus, *Let Me Die Before I Wake*, put out by Hemlock, a Los Angeles–based organization named for the potion taken by Socrates, has been sold freely in bookstores. A more compassionate work than its British counterpart, *Let Me Die* gives case histories of desperately sick patients who have sought to end their lives. In recounting successful attempts, the book gives the precise doses of the drugs used.

The proliferation of manuals romanticizing death troubles social workers and doctors who are intent on preventing suicide among healthy people, as well as those clergymen who oppose suicide for any reason at all. The worst offender is France's *Suicide: Operating Instructions*, by Claude Guillon and Yves Le Bonniec, a pair of anarchists who, with ineffable Gallic logic, have equated the act of suicide with revolt against the established order. Their book, which explains how to forge doctors' prescriptions for lethal drugs, has attracted more than 100,000 French readers and has provoked denunciations by scores of physicians and public health professionals, including France's Minister of Health. Most distressed have been the volunteers who operate France's suicide-rescue organizations, like Search and Encounter, which provide counseling. "We are absolutely terrified by the book," said an official of Search. "It's criminal. It goes against all our efforts. We're about rebirth. Their message is to flee from life."

In the U.S. too there is widespread concern that the manuals may push depressed, momentarily suicidal individuals over the brink. For every suicide in the U.S., 50 to 100 more are estimated to have been attempted and failed. The number of suicides (28,100 recorded in 1981) could increase if society comes to regard self-deliverance as acceptable. Daniel C. Maguire, a Roman Catholic theologian, who has argued for the right of terminally ill patients to take their own lives, is also strongly opposed to the manuals. Says Maguire: "Their publishers must be held accountable for introducing a bias in favor of death." Psychiatrist Hendin warns that people who are basically suicidal tend to want to make suicide seem "socially useful," sometimes striving to turn their own wishes into an acceptable movement. "Elderly people in particular may be made to feel that it is honorable for them to help relieve a burden on society or on their family," says Hendin. "It is a pity society should be able to do something to improve life, it might choose to sanction suicide as an answer to its failures."

—By Patricia Blake.

Reported by Joseph J. Kane/Los Angeles and Arthur White/London

Reforming with Zigs and Zags

Calligraphy may be the cure for sloppy handwriting

Now that calligraphy, the art of formal handwriting, has become a popular hobby, enthusiasts are sharpening their pens to improve the atrocious scrawling of the rest of us. It will be a mighty task. In America, writing is the most neglected of the three Rs.

The basic problem is that the letter forms taught were not designed to accomplish the necessary combination of legibility, speed and ease. At the start, schools require five- and six-year-olds to construct an alphabet out of circles and straight lines. Calligraphers say that it is wrong to expect the resulting letters to resemble the modern sans-serif type faces that the children are simultaneously learning to read. Young hands can rarely produce the subtle but important nuances of printed type. The so-called ball-and-stick method requires exceptional motor coordination, and the effort spoils the handwriting of many youngsters for life.

Since drawing circles and lines is not really "writing," third-graders must be taught writing all over again. Schools switch to one of several cursive systems based on the fanciful scripts taught in the U.S. in the 18th and 19th centuries, including the Spencerian style vigorously promoted in the mid-1800s by Platt Rogers Spencer, a scribe and teacher. All these cursive systems, of which the most familiar is probably the variation devised by another teacher, Austin Palmer, are full of accident-prone loops that only a 19th century copper engraver could properly master. Teachers get as discouraged as students.

The solution, calligraphers say, is a simplified version of italic, one of the predominant handwriting styles of the Italian Renaissance. It was developed by Ludovico degli Arrighi, a Vatican chancery scribe, who in 1522 composed the first writing manual for popular use, *La Operina*. Like much Western writing since antiquity, this simplified italic is written with a broad-edged pen, yielding a pleasing alternation of thick and thin lines, depending on the angle of the stroke. It is also easy to write because it follows the natural movement of the wrist. The writer need only obey the pen to create an even rhythm and beautiful form.

"We don't want to force fancy calligraphy on young children," says Nan Jay Barchowsky, 53, a Maryland writing teacher who is coordinating a drive for handwriting reform, with the aid of 47 calligraphic associations in 26 states. "We want to teach children an efficient hand, one that is legible, fast and easy to write. For some scribes, that isn't calligraphic enough. But most of us believe there is beauty in simplicity."

Among the first to advocate a modern italic as the basis for handwriting reform was the English calligrapher Alfred Fairbank. His series of books, written with Charlotte M. Store and published in 1957, starts children off with simple zigzag lines to harness their natural sense of rhythm. As children draw faster, they will round off the zigs and zags either on top or bottom. Then they are taught to turn rows of circles into slightly slanted ovals. If they alternate these ovals with equally slanted lines, they have all the basic components of lower-case italic letters (and, incidentally, of architectural ornament through the ages). When youngsters master individual letters, they are taught to join them, although not all letters can be legibly connected. The capital letters are plain Roman capitals with a little swash here and there to celebrate the joy of writing.

Modern italic can be written with any instrument from a simple crayon to a 24-karat gold fountain pen (if it will write). But it looks best when written with a broad-edged pen. If the nib is crisp and the ink flow and paper are just right, italic writing gives its practitioners an almost sensuous pleasure.

America's leading calligraphers have urged that their countrymen instruct children in this writing technique. Many italic handwriting manuals are now available. One that is especially designed for use in elementary schools is the Italic Handwriting Series of textbooks by Barbara M. Getty and Inga S. Dubay of Portland, Ore., both teachers as well as enthusiastic calligraphers. Published by Portland State University, the eight-book series was adopted last month by the Portland school board as the official text for handwriting instruction from kindergarten through eighth grade. State education officials have approved the discretionary use of the Getty/Dubay books for all Oregon public schools.

DAVID FALCONER

Teacher Barbara Getty shows italic sample at an Oregon elementary school

With a little swash here and there to celebrate the great joy of writing.

If Oregon children are taught to write decently, interested parents in other states may demand the same for their youngsters. Educators and textbook publishers would be likely to listen. An improved hand would be a boon to American culture. The Getty/Dubay instruction books show that the teaching of proper handwriting evokes children's innate sense of visual order and beauty. It gives children an eye for good design. As Getty and Dubay put it in their foreword in one book in the series: "The various adaptations of italic handwriting are infinite. As handwriting reflects one's personality, we recommend and encourage a personal style in this lifelong skill." In other words, good handwriting offers not only clear communication with others but also the opportunity for artistic self-expression.

—**By Wolf Von Eckardt**

ball and stick	*Palmer Method*	*Italic Writing*

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

SOFT PACK 100's FILTER, MENTHOL: 2 mg. "tar", 0.2 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.

Competitive tar levels reflect either the Dec. '81 FTC Report or current advertising.

NOW. THE LOWEST OF ALL BRANDS.

© 1982 R. J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO CO.

We promise you less.

NOW

THE LOWEST

CONFIRMED BY THE LATEST U.S. GOV'T. REPORT ON TAR

When you really get it all together.